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An Account of
the College of Fort William

SISIR KUMAR DAS

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To

The Memory of

T. W. CLARK

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Preface

The College of Fort William is one of the most significant and interesting institutions of the nineteenth-century India. This College founded in 1800 to impart general education to the young British civil servants remained an active centre of Indian language studies for about thirty years, and it continued to function as an establishment to conduct examinations in Indian languages for another two decades after 1830. The history of this short-lived institution is a record of conflicting attitudes of the British officialdom and scholars towards Indian languages as effective instruments of the administration of British India. Its history is also a record of the love and labours of scholars, both British and Indian, towards the modernization of Indian languages.

The role of this College in the history of modern India has been gratefully acknowledged by the students of literature and of social history. But literature on this College is far from adequate. The Rev. Claudius Buchanan, the Vice-Provost of the College, published a slender volume entitled *The College of Fort William* (1805) which contains some useful documents of the College. Captain Thomas Roebuck published a larger work, *Annals of the College of Fort William* in 1819 a few months before his death. That book, though immensely useful, is mainly a collection of some records such as the statutes and regulations of the College, the speeches of Visitors, lists of publications of the College, etc. The articles of G.S.A. Ranking in the *Bengal Past and Present* published in its several issues in 1911 gave the first comprehensive account of the various stages of growth and development of the College of Fort William. All these books and articles are of great value to any one interested in the College of Fort William

as well as to the students of social history of India in the early nineteenth century. The most authentic and valuable sources of information about the various activities of the College, its frequent tension with the Board of Directors of the East India Company, its relation with other institutions in India, its brief moments of triumphs and achievements and also the causes of its decline, are the proceedings of the College Council preserved in the National Archives, Delhi.

The literary historians of India have taken great interest in the activities of the College. There are excellent accounts of the role of this College in the development of literary prose in Bengali, Urdu and Hindi and its contribution towards the growth of philological studies in various modern Indian languages. But none of them presents the activities of the various departments of the College in their totality. Brajendranath Banerji, Sajani Kanta Das, Laksmi Sagar Varshneya and S.R. Kidwai, to mention a few, were either interested in the contribution of the College to the development of a particular language—Bengali, Hindi or Urdu; or in a particular individual, Carey, Gilchrist or Ramram Basu. But none of them attempted to present the history of the College with all its complexities and multi-dimensional aspects. Recently Prof. David Kopf in his *The British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (1967) has analysed the role of this College against a larger background of social and intellectual activities in the nineteenth-century Bengal.

While the present monograph owes much to all the scholars who have worked in this field, it follows a different approach to the subject. It gives a detailed history of the growth and development of the College of Fort William with special emphasis on its role in the history of the making of prose literature in various languages of India and its contribution to other areas such as printing and publication, text-book production and methods of language teaching. I have found no evidence to accept the view of George Smith that this College was designed to be "a centre of Western learning in Eastern dress for the nations of India and Southern Asia", or of David Kopf and many others, that it was a unique centre of Orientalism. Smith overlooked the fact that this College was never intended to be for the benefit of Indian students and Wellesely had no intention

whatsoever to disseminate Western learning in India. The Orientalists studied the ancient history, and philosophy and literature of India with a zeal comparable to some extent with that of the scholars who studied Greek letters during the renaissance. The scholars who worked in the College of Fort William cannot be compared with the Orientalists at all. The British Orientalists even when they were protagonists of British colonialism, succeeded in keeping their scholarly persuasion free from their official duties and colonial interests. The Fort William College, on the other hand, was established primarily to help the British civil servants. Its academic programmes were designed to teach them Indian languages which were useful as tools of administrative efficiency. Its policies were guided not by the scholars interested in Indian culture but mainly by the Directors of the East India Company many of whom had strong aversion to things Indian. The Romans studied Greek, the language of their subjects, inspite of strong criticism of men like Cato, because they considered Greek civilization superior to theirs in many respects. The Englishmen wanted to learn Urdu or Hindi or Bengali not out of any intellectual consideration but because of immediate practical gains. While Orientalism is an outcome of the Western man's intellectual curiosity about the Orient, the College of Fort William was but a means to meet the demands of the administrative necessities of the British rulers in India.

I have, therefore, tried to analyse the nature of the activities of the College of Fort William not within a conceptual framework of Orientalism but within a framework of contradictory interests, one administrative and the other scholarly. The College was founded to serve the administrative interests, but some of the scholars working there wanted to go beyond the immediate pedadgogical necessities. And that created a tension between the immediate utilitarian outlook and the scholarly attitude which determined the nature of the activities of the College. The College failed to choose one and to reject the other. It wanted to serve both the interests and thus became a victim of the struggle between two major forces, academic and administrative, since its very inception. This College was intended to be and it remained a centre of training of the British civil servants. This fact does not necessarily affect its distinction as a centre of

learning but presents this institution in its proper perspective.

The kind of exercise the College encouraged, very clearly indicates its interest in the living languages of India and of the adjoining countries, as opposed to the Asiatic Society's which was primarily in the Indian past. At one stage the College was inclined to edit and publish texts written in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit but it soon abandoned such projects though not entirely. The College Council often expressed its unwillingness to finance such projects mainly because of its anxiousness to confine its activities within a specified field. If we leave aside the classical languages, the College concentrated mainly on Urdu, Bengali and Hindi, though works on other languages such as Marathi, Panjabi, Oriya, Telugu, etc. were encouraged. The policies regulating the works were more or less similar in nature but each department or unit had the flexibility to implement them according to its requirements and resources and produced results of different kinds, Urdu, for example, developed a natural prose style while Bengali experimented with various styles ranging from highly Sanskritic to the racy occupational dialects. Urdu acquired elegance and grace and distinctiveness through its closeness to the Perso-Arabic literary tradition, while Bengali's adherence to Sanskritic tradition produced unhappy affectations. Text-books were produced in modern languages through translations from a classical language and some time from another modern language. One department emphasized the production of historical narratives, another department yet laid stress on fiction and another on verse. The College encouraged experimentations of various kinds including preparation of suitable text-books, selections from earlier literary works, standardization of spelling and styles of discourse and, in some cases, printing. I have, therefore, attempted to take a total view of the activities of the College instead of looking at it with reference to a particular language or a particular individual. Any activity of the College studied in isolation will produce an incomplete impression about the role of the College of Fort William.

Finally, I have tried to shed light on an important aspect of this institution, namely, the nature of the relationship between Indians and Europeans, both teachers and students—which has not received any serious attention so far. This is related with the nature of the institution working under the constraints of conflicting interests

and motivations to which I have already referred. The majority of the students took their courses lightly, treated their Indian teachers disrespectfully and indulged in indiscipline. They knew they were the rulers of the country and the Indian teachers—their *munshis*—belonged to the population to be ruled by them. The relationship between the British teachers and Indian *munshis* too, was not based on equality. They belonged to separate establishments: British and Native. The Munshis co-operated with there British superiors in full measure but they had no freedom to take any decision, not to speak of its implementation. They were *munshis* and they were expected to obey the orders of the *sahibs*. The inner rhythm of the College life and its activities was regulated by this relationship of Sahibs and Munshis.

SISIR KUMAR DAS

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CHAPTER ONE

The Establishment of the College of Fort William

The College of Fort William was founded in 1800 in Calcutta by Wellesely. It is known today primarily as the first important centre of Oriental studies where many distinguished British and Indian scholars worked together. Indian literary scholars and historians have paid eloquent tributes to the teachers of this College for their role in the modernization of several Indian languages. Nonetheless this College was established for a different purpose altogether. And that purpose was precisely to help towards the growth of an efficient civil service in India. From the beginning of the eighteenth century the East India Company's service was divided into two classes: Military and Civil. But before Warren Hastings who became the Governor General in 1772 there was hardly any sound policy of the Company's civil service.[1] The Clive generation had neither the ability nor the training to perform the duties of an efficient and clean administration. When Hastings found a large number of his officers 'pity tyrants' he did not make them entirely responsible for their follies but realised the defects of the system. During his term of office, between 1772 and 1785, through various reforms he gave a new direction to the civil service. His successor, Cornwallis, too, took several steps towards the 'purification' of Company's service.[2] But it was Marquees Wellesely who insisted for the first time on the necessity of a rigorous training of the civil servants. The College of Fort William was established to meet that necessity.

Hastings, long before Wellesely, realised the importance of a

fair knowledge of Indian languages. Spear describes him as the first 'to understand Indian culture as a basis for a sound administration'.[3] It is debatable whether he had a real understanding of Indian culture but certainly he had a strong fascination for some Indian languages. When he was in Company's junior grade (till 1752) he achieved "mastery of Urdu and a fair competence of Persian which in few years distinguished him from the ruck of young Englishmen".[4] His personal interest in the Calcutta Madrasa which he founded in 1780; his attempt, though unsuccessful, in creating a chair of Persian at Oxford; and his initiative in the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 show in ample measure his admiration and attraction for Oriental literature and languages. His attitude towards Indian languages, however, was always very pragmatic. When he set up his first committee of Revenue in 1773 he appointed those who knew Urdu and Persian, two widely used speeches of north India, superseding the claims of senior officers in the Company. He was fortunate to have a group of scholarly persons—Charles Wilkins (1750-1836), N. B. Halhed (1751-1830), J. Duncan (1756-1794) and also William Jones (1746-1794). They contributed greatly to the smooth functioning of the administration with their linguistic competence and at the same time they created an atmosphere of oriental studies in India. It was mainly through the English translations of the *Gita* and the *Shakuntala* by Wilikins and Jones respectively that Sanskrit literature was introduced to the Western world. The College of Fort WIlliam was not established to intensify the activities of the Orientalists or to act as a sister institution of the Asiatic Society. It was more directly linked with Hastings' pragmatism in respect of his attitude towards Indian languages and had nothing to do at all with the British orientalism manifested in the scholarly pursuits of the Asiatic Society. Both Hastings and Cornwallis wanted the civil servants to be trained but they did not attempt to give any concrete shape to their ideas. Wellesely came out with a definite plan of education for the civil servants.

On 3 January 1799 a notification of the Public Department (dt. 21.12.1798) directed that "from and after 1 January 1801, no servant will be deemed eligible to any of the offices hereinafter mentioned, unless he shall have passed an examination in the laws and regulations and in the languages, a

knowledge of which is hereby declared to be an indispensible qualification."[5] The languages were Persian and Hindustani for the office of Judge and Registrar of any court of Justice; Bengali for the office of Collector of Revenue or of Customs or Commercial Resident or Salt Agent in the province of Bengal and Orissa. Hindustani was also necessary for the office of Collector of Revenue or of Customs or Commercial Resident or Agent for the provision of opium in the province of Bihar and Benaras. In order to facilitate the acquisition of Hindustani some junior civil servants were ordered in February 1799 to attend a course given by John Gilchrist, about whom more will be said later. That was the only measure Wellesely could take in 1799 to train up the civil servants in Indian languages.

Wellesely noticed that there was no proper arrangement for teaching Indian languages to the officials of the Company. The usual practice was to hire a *Munshi*, a native teacher, to give instructions in Persian and Hindustani. The instructors had no knowledge of English and there was hardly any grammar or lexicon to help the student. Gilchrist, an adventurous young doctor from Edinburgh, came to India at the age of twenty-three and learnt Urdu very well. He wrote a grammar of that language in 1798 the year before he joined the Oriental Seminary where some arrangements were made for teaching of Indian languages. Gilchrist earned considerable reputation as a teacher and soon attracted the notice of Wellesely.

Welleselly also observed that young boys at the age of thirteen to sixteen were sent to India as apprentices. They had neither any formal education at home nor was there any opportunity to educate themselves in India. These boys were shipped, to use the expression of Macaulay, to make a fortune or to die of a fever. The selection proceedure in England was hardly above reproach. The Charter Act of 1793 required the Directors to take an oath that they would not accept any money for nominations or appointments. Many of the Directors, however, misused their power and profited enormously by distributing their patronage. O'malley writes: "After 1793 the actual sale of appointments ceased. Nominations were given as the price of political support or to serve private interests or provide for family connexions or friends. . . . Henry Dundas, who was President of the Board of Control from 1793 to 1801, freely

exercised his patronage in favour of his compatriots. . .".[6] But very few were equipped for the work of writers and factors. Wellesely realised the need for a regular and systematic plan of instruction for these young boys and also to rearrange the desultory mode of language teaching. This prompted him to draw up a plan of an institution which came to be known as the College of Fort William.

WELLESELY'S PLAN

In his letter of 10 July 1800 addressed to the Court of Directors Wellesely presented an elaborate plan of the College.[7] He observed that "the British possession in India now constitutes one of the most expansive and populous empires in the world" and "the duty and policy of the British Government in India, therefore, require that the system of confiding the immediate exercise of every branch and department to Europeans, educated in its own service and subject to its own direct control, should be diffused as widely as possible as well as with a view to the stability of our own interest, as to happiness and welfare of our native subject."[8] He pleaded that a vast empire like India with such wide diversity in languages and religions and social behaviours, an effective machinery must be evolved and "the civil servants of the English East India Company, therefore, can no longer be considered as agents of a commercial concern. They are in fact the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign" and "they are required to discharge the functions of Magistrates, Judges, Ambassadors and Governors of Provinces."[9] Wellesely remarked very strongly about the boys who were sent to India as totally incompetent to execute the duties of any station 'beyond the menial labourours, unwholesome and unprofitable duty of a mere copying clerk'. He also criticised the existing conditions of the civil service. Those boys were kept confined in Europe 'to the commercial and mercantile interest' and a 'premature interruption of a course of study' before they were sent to India could be hardly beneficial for them. Moreover in their first exposure in India the kind of life they observed around was far from an ennobling experience. The major defect in the condition of civil service, Wellesely observed, was "want of a similar system and authority to prescribe and enforce a regular course

of study under which the youngman upon his arrival in India might be enabled to correct the errors or to persue and confirm the advantages of their European education and to attain a knowledge of the languages, laws, usages and customs of India together with such other branches of knowledge as are requisite to qualify them for their several stations."[10]

Wellesely had some apprehension against the doctrines of the French Revolution which found their way among a section of the officers in the Company. He observed: "during the convulsions with which the doctrines of the French Revolution have agitated the continent of Europe, erroneous principles of the same dangerous tendencies had reached the minds of some individuals in the civil and military service of the Company in India...The progress of this mischief would at all time be aided by the defective and irregular education of the writers and cadets, an Institution tending to fix and establish sound and correct principles of religion and Government in their minds at an early period of life, is the best security which can be provided for the stability of the British power in India."[11] The logical necessity and remedy, according to Wellesely, was, therefore, to establish an Institution for a good education of the civil servants. He examined the possibility of training the civil servants in England before sending them abroad. He preferred, however, young boys to come to India at an early age, to their coming to India at a more mature age. He was so eager to start the College that on the day he sent his plan to the Court of Directors, he founded a Collegiate institution at Fort William by a regulation.[12] He anticipated the objections from the Court of Directors but emphasized the reasons which induced him to take such prompt actions without any previous reference to London. It was his conviction of the great benefit to be derived from the early commencement of the College, his experience of the advantages derived by many attending classes conducted by Gilchrist and, of course, his anxiety to train up promising boys for their future responsibilities which impelled him to establish the College.

Establishment of the College

The College of Fort William was formally founded on 18 August 1800. The statutes of the College were framed on that day. But

4 May 1800 was decided to be recognized its day of inception, it being the first anniversary of the victory of the British arms at Seringapatam. The first term of the College, however, commenced from 6 February 1801.[13] Wellesely intended to start the College at Garden Reach, near the Ganges, but it was finally situated at the Writers' Building in the heart of the metropolis. That building had been in use since 1780 for the writers coming from England. It had class rooms, one science laboratory, a library, a dining room, quarters for Professors as well as rooms for administrative staff. From a contemporary description it is known that "lower floor contained the lecture rooms and the second was fitted up for the reception of the College library, which occupied four rooms, each 30 by 20 feet. On the upper floor there was a large Hall, 68 feet by 30 intended for the examination room. Each of the pediments at the extremities of the building, fronted two suites of apartments for the accommodation of the secretary and one of the professors. The intermediate buildings, eleven in number, were for the accommodation of twenty-nine students."[14]

Wellesely gave serious thought to the academic content of the syllabi for the education of the civil servants. He wanted that, "their studies, the discipline of their education, their habits of life, their manners and morals" should be so ordered "as to establish a just conformity between their public consideration and the dignity and importance of their public stations, and to maintain a sufficient correspondence between their qualifications and their duties. Their education should be founded in a general knowledge of those branches of literature and science which form the basis of the education of persons destined to similar occupations in Europe. To this foundation should be added an intimate acquaintance with the history, languages, customs and manners of the people of India, with the Mohammedan and Hindoo codes of law and religion, and with the political and commercial interests and relations of Great Britain."[15]

Most of the historians of nineteenth century Bengal have not given adequate importance to this aspect of Wellesely's thought and some of them have wrongly suggested that his emphasis was on *orientalism*. He thought of an education in which knowledge about India would be integrated with the knowledge of Western science and literature. In fact, Wellesely laid the

foundation on which later schemes of training the civil servants rested. When appointments in the Indian Civil Service were thrown open to competition by an Act of Parliament in 1853 and a committee with Lord Macaulay as its chairman was appointed next year to go into the problems of the new system, Macaulay Committee desired that the civil servants "should have received the best, the most liberal and the most finished education that Great Britain afforded."[16] The Civil servants were expected to pass an examination in law, history of India and Indian languages. Recommendations of the Macaulay Committee are indeed the vindication of the scheme of Wellesely which was a happy blending of a general education and specialization. The section II of the Statutes entitled Admission of the Superior Officers and Professors, which is quoted below, presents without any ambiguity the idea of Wellesely as regards his emphasis on European religious education and the role of the College in the making of the civil servants.

> "In as much as the College of Fort William is founded on the principles of the Christian religion, and is intended not only to promote the knowledge of Oriental literature, to instruct the students in the duties of the several stations to which they may be destined in the government of the British empire in India, and to strengthen and confirm, within these possessions the attachment of the civil servants of the East India Company to the wise laws and constitutions of Great Britain, but also to maintain and uphold the Christian religion in this quarter of the globe, it is declared no person shall hold any superior office in this institution, or to be admitted as professor or lecturer in the same until he shall have taken the oath of allegiance to the kings Majesty and shall have subscribed the following declaration, *Viz*:
>
> "I A.B. do solemnly and faithfully promise and declare that I will not teach or maintain publicly any doctrines or opinion contrary to the Christian religion or to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England as by law established.
>
> "I A.B. do solemnly and faithfully promise and declare that I will not teach or maintain publicly or privately and doctrine or opinion contrary to the lawful constitution of

> Great Britain either in church or in state, or country to the duty which I owe as a faithful and loyal subject to the royal person, family and government of His Majesty. . . ."

The subjects taught in the College which will be related presently also show that Wellesely wanted to lay emphasis on European matter rather than on so-called orientalism. The quotation above shows that he was anxious to put stress on religion. It was prompted partly, perhaps, by his anxiety to promote ethical values in the lives of young civil servants and perhaps to please a powerful lobby in the Court of Directors, Charles Grant in particular, who believed that the solution of Indian social problems lay in its evangelization. In the regulation of 10 July 1800 Wellesely proposed that the immediate government of the College should be vested in a Provost and a Vice-Provost, and the Provost must be a clergyman of the Church of England. The Regulation mentioned that divine service should be performed in the College chapel and attendance in the service was made compulsory. It was not a coincidence that both the clergy men appointed for the office of Provost and of Vice-Provost were in regular touch with Charles Grant.

Wellesely wanted that Law and Jurisprudence, History, Geography, Political Economy, Chemistry, Botany and Experimental Philosophy should form the hardcore in the syllabus. Greek and Latin, Sanskrit and Arabic and Persian should be taught in the College along with French and English and several Indian languages. Hindu and Muslim Laws as well as British Law and the laws enacted by the Governor General should form a course of study. History of Europe as well as the history of India were prescribed as subjects of study. It will be extremely wrong to suggest that Wellesely wanted the College to become another centre of oriental study. These courses show that he wanted the civil servants to be well educated and to be familiar with the best traditions of Europe and at the same time provided opportunities for their exposure to Indian language and literature and history and law. The designing of such a plan was partly due to his own academic background. At Eton Wellesely showed great proficiency in the Classics. At Christ Church he won the Chancellor's prize for Latin verse. This syllabus reveals a quality of mind which was rare among the

members of the Court of Directors. He, however, knew that such an ambitious plan would not be considered practical by the Court of Directors and they would not approve of it if its expenditure reduced the margin of profit of the Company. Wellesely assured the Court of Directors that expenses of the College could be met by a small contribution from all the civil servants in India to be deducted from their salaries, and also from the additional profits of the Government Press.

The clause XI of the Statutes stated that students and teachers and members of the administrative staff should be under the immediate jurisdiction of the Provost. In his minute of 10 July 1800 Wellesely mentioned that the discipline of the College would be as "moderate as may be consistent with the ends of the institution. It will impose no harsh or humiliating restrain and will be formed on principles combining the disciplines of the universities in England with that of the Royal Military Academies of France and of other European Monarchies."[17] He wanted to curb the prevalent practice of the young civil servants to borrow money from local money-lenders. He authorized that each student would be provided with apartment and food at the expense of the College and would receive three hundred rupees per month.[18] Later it was decided that students not accommodated in the College would get an allowance of eighty rupees more per month.[19] Students of the College were expected to take an oath declaring their allegiance to superior officers and the rules of the College.[20] It was decided that there would be four terms: 1st term from 6 February to 31 March, 2nd term from 4 May to 30 June, 3rd term from 1 August to 30 September. Attendance in at least one class in oriental languages during each term was made compulsory. There was ample measure of incentive for studying oriental language and laws. Any student joining the college with some proficiency in Sanskrit or Persian would be given one thousand rupees provided he could pass an examination either in Hindu or Islamic law. Scholarships of one thousand rupees and five hundred rupees were promised for showing 'high proficiency' and 'simple proficiency' respectively in any oriental language. A gold medal, was decided to be awarded for high proficiency in English composition.

The College Council

In the Regulation of 10 July 1800 Wellesely specified that the Governor General would be the patron and visitor of the College. The governors of the College would be members of the Supreme Council and the judges of the *suddar dewany adawlat* (civil court) and of the *nizamat adawlat* (criminal court). The Governor General in council shall be the trustee for the management of funds and shall submit accounts to the Court of Directors. The comptrolling Committee of Treasury shall be the Treasurer. The Accountant General and the Civil Auditor shall be the Accountant and Auditor of the College respectively. The immediate Government of the College was vested in the Provost and the Vice-Provost. The first council of the College consisted of Wellesely, David Brown (Provost), Claudius Buchanan (Vice-Provost), George Hilaro Barlow, and Neil Benjamin Edmonstone.

David Brown was at that time in the charge of the Mission Church. Brown was born in Yorkshire around 1764 and studied at Magdalene College. He came to India in 1786 as the superintendent of the Bengal Military Orphan Asylum at Howrah. Next year he assumed charge of the Mission Church after Kiernander's retirement. In 1800 he founded Calcutta Charitable fund. When Wellesely appointed him as the Provost of the College he was very well known for his philanthropic work and for his zeal and integrity of character. Brown was associated with the College till his death in 1812. His cemetery can still be seen at South Park Street Burial Ground in Calcutta.

Buchanan was born on 12 March 1766 at Cumberland near Glasgow and was educated at the Glasgow University. He came to India in 1797 as a Chaplain in the service of the East India Company. He was a scholarly man of a fine disposition. He was the first man to publish a short but useful work on the College of Fort William. Some of his writings were collected by H. Pearson in his *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan* (Oxford, 3rd. ed., 1819). He died in 1815.

According to Clause X of the Statute, the College Council shall consist of five members, of which the Provost and the Vice-Provost shall be two. But the other three members could be

appointed by the Visitor. On March 1802 H.T. Colebrooke and J.K. Harrington became members of the Council and Charles Rothman was appointed Secretary to the Council. Barlow (1762-1846), who joined Bengal Civil Service in 1799, was a trusted colleague of Wellesely. He was the Chief Secretary to the Governor General and later he became a member of the Supreme Council. Edmonstone (1765-1841) already had distinguished himself as a Persian translator and was well known to Wellesely as a distinguished student of Oxford and also being the son of a member of the British Parliament. Harrington (d. 1828), too, earned considerable reputation as a judge and also for his work on the Persian poet Saadi. About Colebrooke (1765-1837) it is sufficient to say that his emminence as a scholar of Sanskrit when he was nominated a member of the College Council was next only to Sir William Jones.

European Establishment

Only Europeans were appointed Professors and Teachers. Professors were appointed at a fabulous salary of Rs 1500/- per month, and Teachers at the salary of Rs 1000/- per month. The following persons were appointed Professors and Teachers in 1801.[21]

In April 1801 five Professors were appointed: G.H. Barlow (Law and Regulation of the British Government in India), N.B. Edmonstone (Persian), Lt. John Baillie (Arabic), John Gilchrist (Hindustani) and C. Buchanan (Greek, Latin and English). Colebrooke was appointed Professor of Sanskrit in May 1801. Barlow was soon succeeded by John Harrington in May that year. Francis Gladwin, a soldier-diplomat who prepared the *English Persian Vocabulary* in 1775, was also appointed Professor of Persian in 1801.

James Dinwiddie (Mathamatics), Du Plessy (Modern European Languages), William Carey (Sanskrit and Bengali) and M. Lumsden (Persian) were appointed Teachers in April 1801. Rev. Poezold (Tamil) and Edward Scott Warring (Hindustani) were appointed in May 1801 and June 1801 respectively. Warring left the College in January 1802 and Ensigh William Macdougall was appointed in his place in November 1802.

Wellesely took keen personal interest in the appointment of

Professors all of whom were known to him intimately. Burlow was competent for the task he was entrusted with but his official duties were heavy and therefore he was soon replaced by Harrington (?-1828). He came to India in 1780, served as an assistant in the Revenue Department in 1781, as a Persian translator in 1783, as a puisne judge of the Dewani Adawlat and Magistrate of Dinajpur in 1793 and before he was recruited for the post of a Professor he was a puisne judge of the Sudder Dewani and Nizamat Adalwat. Edmonstone came to India in 1783 and became one of the secretaries to Wellesely since 1798. In the meantime he published two important works: *Regulations for the Administration of Justice in the Fauzdary or Criminal Court* (1791) and *Regulations for the Guidance of the Magistrates* (1792). Apart from them Gladwin Kirkpatric (1754-1812) was also appointed Professor of Persian. He was the Persian interpreter to Lt. General Giles Stibbert, the Commander-in-Chief in Bengal in 1777-79; and prepared a Persian translation of the articles of war. Wellesely described him as a man unequalled in his knowledge of manners and languages of India at that time. He also acknowledged Kirkpatric's valuable assistance in his battle against Tipoo Sultan.

John Baillie (1772-1833) was the highest paid Professor in the College. He used to draw Rs 1600/- as his monthly salary from the College and Rs 1000/- as an Arabic translator.[22] He arrived in India in 1791 and became a lieutenant in 1794. There were very few Englishmen in India at that time who knew Arabic and Baillie was one of them. Probably that was the reason why he was given the highest salary. He resigned from the post of Professor in 1807 when he was appointed Resident at Lucknow.

When H.T. Colebrooke (1765-1837) was appointed Professor of Sanskrit, Charles Wilkins was in England and Sir William Jones was dead and there was no one among the Europeans in India to equal his learning. He had already translated Jagannath Tarka Panchanan's work on Hindu Law. He came to Madras in 1783 at the age of eighteen and spent his time and money on wine and gambling, Being a devoted student of Greek and Latin he used to spend his leisure reading Plato and Horace and never indulged in the idea of learning an Indian language. It is an irony of fate that in course of years he became the most celebrated

devotee of the Indian Muse next only to Sir William Jones. In 1798 he translated the *Vivadabhangarnava* under the title *Digest of the Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions.* In 1810 he translated the *Dayabhaga* of Jimuta Vahana. His erudition and understanding in the ancient law of India received the acclaim of scholars all over Europe and Maxmueller called him the legislator of India. Though primarily he was an expert in Hindu law his interest was wide and his reading was vast. He made significant contribution to Indological studies in general, and Indian literature and religion in particular.

Wellesely wanted to institute six chairs for the modern Indian languages but finally he created only one and that was for Hindustani. Gilchrist was the first incumbent of that chair. Gilchrist learnt Urdu during the period between his arrival in Bombay in 1782 and in Calcutta on 3 April 1783.[23] He served as an assistant surgeon in the East India Company around November 1782. As an official of the Company he lived in Fatehgarh in Farrakabad where he studied Urdu and started writing a grammar of the language. He toured extensively in Lucknow, Faizabad, Allahabad, Jaunpur and Benaras which helped him immensely in acquiring Urdu.[21] He compiled a Hindustani dictionary but had a rude shock when Kirkpatric's dictionary was published before his. The next few years of his life were spent in great hardship. He took the cultivation of Indigo for which he developed some interest while he was in the West Indies before coming to India, but his profit was so marginal that he had to incur a heavy debt and to mortgage his rights for the *Hindustani Grammar and Dictionary* to his printers. He cultivated opium as well as sugarcane but none proved to be profitable. Though he was tormented by financial hardship and was haunted by a feeling of frustration, he completed the grammar of Hindustani and published it. In 1796 he again came to Calcutta and joined the Oriental Seminary in 1799. During these three years he worked very hard and prepared the *Oriental Linguist*, a Hindustani Primer, and a very erudite appendix to his Hindustani Grammar. When he was appointed Professor of Hindustani he was a reputed author of two valuable works: (1) *A Dictionary, English and Hindoostanee* (Pt. I, 1786, Pt. II, 1790) which had a second edition in 1810 published from Edinburgh under a different title—*Hindustanee Philology;* (2) *A Grammar of Hindoostanee Language* (Calcutta,

1796)—Appendix to this work was published in 1798.

Very little is known about the early life of most of the Teachers in the College. James Dinwiddie was a teacher of Mathematics in Dumfries. He went to China as superintendent of Mathematical instruments intended as presents to the Emperor. When he came back to India he was appointed at the College of Fort William. He died in England in March 1815 at Islington.

Among the Teachers of the College, William Carey though an obscure missionary in 1800, came to be known to the posterity as the most illustrious. Much has been written on this noble scholar[25] and he is still remembered with gratitude and affection by the Bengalis as one of the finest Europeans who lived and died in Bengal. Carey (1761-1834) was born in a cobbler family in Northampton and had no formal education at all. But through his own initiative he learnt several European languages and studied history and natural science and theology. While he toiled hard to earn a living as a shoe-maker till the age of twenty-eight, he worked equally hard to equip himself for the task he wanted to accomplish in future. In 1792 when he became a pastor of the Baptist Mission at Moulton he wrote a pamphlet on the obligations of the Christians to spread the Gospel among the heathens. Next year he was sent to India and he reached Bengal in 1793. The first seven years of his stay in Bengal was a period of poverty and privations. Missionary activities were banned in Calcutta at that time. Carey floated like a rudderless boat from one place to another. And during this period he not only learnt Bengali but before the beginning of 1800 he translated parts of the Bible into Bengali.

Towards the end of 1799 a group of Baptist Missionaries including J. Marshman and William Ward, being refused entry in Calcutta, settled in Serampore which was under Danish protection. They invited Carey to join which he did and spent the rest of his life there. Carey along with Marshman and Ward founded the Serampore Mission on 10 January 1800. In August that year a Bengali translation of the Gospel according to St. Matthew was printed at the Serampore Press which from its humble beginning became one of the finest in the whole of Asia. Wellesely, though suspicious of Carey's activity as a Christian Missionary, invited him through Buchanan to join the College as

a Teacher of Bengali and Sanskrit. Carey, it must be noted, was offered a salary of Rs 500/- per month. According to the Statutes of the College all Teachers had to declare their allegiance to the Church of England. Those who belonged to other Churches had their allowance fixed at a maximum of Rs 500/-. Buchanan met Carey 23 November 1800 and persuaded him to join the College. Carey accepted the offer reluctantly partly on the persuasion of Buchanan and partly on the request of his colleagues at Serampore, who must have thought that a contact between the Mission and the College would soften the attitude of the Government towards the missionary activities in Bengal.

Indian Establishment

Arabic and Persian

At the College of Fort William Indians were appointed only as *munshis* of various ranks. On 29 April 1801 the College Council recommended that Chief Munshis, Second Munshis and Sub-ordinate Munshis were to be appointed at a monthly salary of Rs 200/-, Rs 100/- and Rs 40/- respectively. Later another category of munshis called Certified Munshis were appointed at a monthly salary of Rs 30/-. The selection of munshis in the Indian establishment was left in the hands of the Professors and Teachers. The following chart shows the number of munshis alloted to each language department:[26]

	Arabic	*Persian*	*Hindustani*	*Sanskrit-Bengali*	*Total*
Chief Munshi	1	1	1	1	4
Second Munshi	1	1	1	1	4
Sub-ordinate Munshi	4	20	12	6	42
Total	6	22	14	8	50

No records are available about the munshis in the Arabic Department for the first few years. Of course that does not mean that munshis were not appointed in that department. In a report of Baillie dated 28 September 1805 the following names are found:[27] Sayed Mir Ali Nakhe Khan, Maulavi Roshan Ali, Maulavi Zaker Ali, Maulavi Maohammad Aslam and Maulavi Mahammad Azeem. They were drawing a salary of Rs 250/-,

Rs 200/-. Rs 100/- and Rs 60/- respectively. Most probably they were in the College in 1801 also. Either their salary was increased in 1805 or Baillie had been successful in persuading the College Council to give more salary to the munshis of his Department. Some of the munshis from the Persian Department used to help Baillie in his teaching and scholarly work.

We have very little information about these munshis. We know from a note from his brother Darvesh Ali that Roshan left his home in 1775 at the age of twenty-six. He worked with Charles Hamilton, the translator of *Hedyak* into English, at Belgram. He also worked at Benaras and Jaunpur before coming to Calcutta. When he died on 5 March 1808 Lumsden wrote 'he has left behind him no equal in Arabic learning'.[28] In July 1808, Maulavi Jan Ali, a distinguished scholar of Arabic, was appointed. From a petition of his (dated 18 June 1825) we get some information about him. He worked with Baillie and helped him in translating several Arabic texts.

On 4 May 1801 the following persons were recommended for Persian Department.[29]

Chief Munshi: Maulavi Allah Dad
Second Munshi: Haroon Hoosyer
Sub-Ordinate Munshis: Nazarashraf, Mohammad Aslam, Waris Ali, Mohammad Ghos, Badar Ali, Imam Baks, Golam Bheek, Golam Yaheea, Golam Ahmed, Sheikh Ali, Sultan Husen, Husen Ali, Asadullah, Sahabuddin, Mazhar Ali, Tassaddook Ali, Yassen, Ganga Bishan and Reeyat Ali

Later record shows that Karim Husen and Tegh Ali were also appointed as munshis in May 1801.[30] The number of munshis in the Department, then, should have been 23. Most probably one of the persons did not join the College though it is not possible to identify him. Probably Mohammad Aslam was recruited in the Department of Arabic as his name is found in the report of Baillie already referred to. Among these munshis Waris Ali retired on 19 July 1802 and Golam Ahmad on 19 April 1804. Mohammad Aslam, too, resigned in June 1809 due to some strained relations with Lumsden, and Mirza Mehendi was appointed in his place as the letter of Lumsden (dated 26 June 1809) suggests.

It can be presumed that the munshis in the Persian Department were selected by the Professors of Persian. They came from different parts of India. Allah Dad came from Lucknow. His son-in-law Badar Ali was an inhabitant of Muzzaffarpur, Bihar. Karim Hosen came from Oudh. Nazarullah, appointed after the resignation of Waris Ali, was from Murshidabad, Bengal. Allah Dad has been praised by Lumsden and others as a fine scholar of Arabic and Persian. In a letter (dt. 24 February 1816) Lumsden wrote about him: "Hindoostan has not produced in modern times a man of equal genius and attainment."[31] He knew English as well as Greek and Latin. He translated parts of Newton's *Principia* but could not complete it because of his sudden death. About other munshis in the Department our knowledge is next to nothing.

Few more munshis who worked in different periods in the Department of Persian are mentioned below:

> Nazarullah (appointed in April 1802, retired at the age of 65 in 1828), Zoorban Ali (appointed in November 1802), Yusuf Ali (appointed in 1801 and retired in 1827), Hisanuddin (appointed in November 1806), Sher Sayed Ali (appointed in July 1807), Abdur Rahaman (appointed in October 1812 and retired in 1827 at the age of 56), Abdul Khud (appointed in December 1813), Golam Sureed (appointed in May 1813), Mohammad Toha (appointed as a Writing Master in December 1821) and Taj Mohammad Katib (appointed in July 1824).

Department of Hindustani

The following persons were appointed in the Department of Hindustani in April 1801.

> *Chief Munshi:* Mir Bahadur Ali
> *Second Munshi:* Tarini Charan Mitra
> *Sub-Ordinate Munshis:* Murtuza Khan, Golam Akbar, Nasarullah, Mir Amman, Golam Asraf, Hilaluddin, Mohammad Sadiq, Rahamatullah Khan, Golam Ghos, Kundanlal, Kashiraj and Mir Hydar Bukhs.

Among these persons Mohammad Sadiq, Rahamatullah Khan, Golam Ghos and Kashiraj left the College within six or seven

months after their appointment. Saiyed Zafar, Mahammad Taqi, Mabarak Mahiuddin and Asad Ali Khan were appointed in their places. Hilaluddin was dismissed from the College in 1805 as he was found guilty of taking bribe.[32]

Like the munshis of Arabic and Persian the munshis for Hindustani Department too came from different parts of India. Many of them, however, were in Calcutta at the time of the establishment of the College. Mir Amman, who is known as the morning star of Urdu prose,[33] came from Delhi. During the invasion of Ahmad Shah Durani he lost his house and other properties. He came to Calcutta in search of a new life and met Gilchrist there.[34] Murtuza Khan came from Patna,[35] Mir Hyder Bukhs from Delhi and Kashiraj (Kashi Ray?) from the Punjab. Mir Hyder Bukhs sent his manuscript *Kissa Mihomaha* to Gilchrist who invited him to the College of Fort William.[36] Mir Bahadur Ali was also from Delhi. In 1804 he was appointed a translator and the then translator Mir Sher Ali Afsos was asked to work as the Chief Munshi.[37] Afsos's father used to work in the ordinance factory of Mirkasim in Bihar. His ancestors came from Arabia and settled in Delhi. Afsos spent his early days in Patna as well as in Lucknow where he earned some fame as a poet. In Lucknow he met Colonel Scott who sent him to Calcutta.[38] When Afsos died on 19 December 1809, Tarini Charan Mitra (c. 1772—c. 1837) succeeded him as the Chief Munshi on 21 December 1809. Mitra was a Bengali from Calcutta. He attained a high degree of competence in Urdu and Persian and in the words of Gilchrist, had 'considerable fluency in the English tongue'.[39] When Mitra was promoted to the office of Chief Munshi Mir Kazim Ali Zanan was appointed in his place. Mir Kazim Ali, who worked for some time in Delhi and Lucknow, was sent to Calcutta by Colonel Scott. He died in Calcutta on 2 July 1816.

In the beginning Hindustani Department taught only Urdu. Gilchrist, however, realised that some arrangement must be made to teach 'Hindi'. The distinction between Urdu and Hindi as it is known today was not very clear among the Europeans of that time. It was clear, however, that there were other styles of Hindustani and 'Braja Bhakha' was such a distinct style. On 19 February 1802 when the College Council approved the demand of Gilchrist for a 'Bhakha Munshi' Lallujilal (c. 1747-1824), a

Gujrati Brahmin, was appointed. Like Mir Amman in Urdu he is considered as one of the pioneers of modern Hindi prose.[40] After him Gangaprasad Shukla, a .Brahmin from Kanauj, was appointed.

The names of other munshis who worked in the College at various periods are given here. They are Dullituddin (appointed October 1801), Noula Bukhs (appointed September 1802), Mir Tuesudug Hosen (November 1802), Mir Bhakhs Ali (appointed November 1803), Mohammad Wari (appointed January 1805), Wajibuddin (appointed November 1808), Mir Kazim Ali (appointed Decmber 1809), Fukhruz Zuman (appointed August 1812), Ganga Narain (appointed December 1824) and Khelaram (appointed January 1827).

The Hinudstani Department used to patronized many poets. They were not formally appointed by the College but used to be associated with various programmes of the Hindustani Department. Among such poets and men of letters in the Hindustani Department were Mirza Lutf Ali, Ifrizuddin Ahmad, Ikram Ali, Beninarain Jahan, Mohammad Amanullah and Nihal Chand Lahori.

Sanskrit and Bengali

Sanskrit and Bengali scholars were usually referred to as *pandits* instead of munshis, though for all official purposes they were known as munshis. For the sake of uniformity I have used the word munshi throughout. The following teachers were appointed in the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali in 1801.

Chief Munshi: Mrityunjay Vidyalamkar.
Second Munshi: Ramnath Vachaspati
Sub-ordinate Munshi: Sripati (Ray), Ananda Chandra, Rajiblochan Mukhopadhyay, Kashinath (Mukhopadhyay), Padmalochan Churamani and Ramram Basu.

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Mrityunjay Vidyalamkar (c. 1762-1819)[41] was probably the finest scholar of Sanskrit in Bengal at that time. He was born in Midnapur but was educated at Nator in North Bengal. He knew Bengali and Oriya and Sanskrit. He used to run a *tol,* a traditional Sanskrit school, at his residence before he joined the College in 1801. Contemporary newspapers have always referred

to him as a profound scholar of ancient learning. Even his opponent Rammohun Ray paid eloquent tribute to his erudition. All the scholars in the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali had their education in traditional schools and all except Ramram Basu were typical representatives of the Bengali Hindu academic community of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The eighteenth century was a period of general decline of Sanskritic learning in Bengal and yet there were hundreds of scholars, most of them remained obscure throughout their life, who tried to preserve and sustain and to transmit the ancient learning from one generation to the other. Of such families came scholars like Mrityunjay, Rammohun Ray, Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay and Vidysagar. It is true that Sanskrit learning had lost its relevance as well as its virility by the end of the eighteenth century and most of the pandits were engrossed in false pride and vanity. Yet a few scholars kept the lamp of knowledge burning and their erudition won the admiration of their compatriots as well as of European scholars.

We do not know anything about the life and works of Ramnath Vachaspati, Sripati, Ananda Chandra, Kashinath or Padma Lochan. The titles of Ramnath and Padma Lochan suggest that they received recognition from the *Chatuspathis* for their learning. All the teachers, except Ramram Basu, in the Sanskrit-Bengali Department were Brahmins and it can be presumed they had their education in traditional Sanskrit schools. About Rajib Lochan, it is known, that he had some connection with the family of Krishna Chandra Ray, the king of Krishnanagar.

Ramkumar Shiromani and Kaliprasad and Shivachandra were appointed as Subordinate Munshis in September 1801. Kalikumar Ray well known for his beautiful hand-writing was recruited as the Master for Bengali hand-writing in March 1803. In 1805 Gadadhar and Ramkishore Tarkachuramani were appointed as Subordinate Munshis. Narottam Basu, son of Ramram Basu, was also appointed as a Subordinate Munshi in March 1806. Chandi Charan Munshi, who translated a Persian work into Bengali, was in the College from the early years of its establishment though his date of appointment is not known. He died in 26 November 1808.[42] There was another scholar, Haraprasad Ray,[43] who translated Vidyapati's *Purusha Pariksha* into Bengali. He was associated with the College though not as a

permanent member. Ramjay Tarkalamkar (appointed in July 1816), Ramchandra [44] (appointed in April 1817), and Rammohan (appointed in November 1824) were recruited later. Several other names of munshis are found in the records of the College about whom almost nothing is known. They are Madhusudan Tarkalamkar, Dinabandhu Banerji, Radhakanta, Ramdhan Sharma, Bholanath Sharma, Kenaram Sharma, Pitambar Sharma, and Radhagovinda Sharma. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the Bengali educationist and social reformer, also worked in the College during the fag end of its existence.[45] Among all these scholars we have detailed information about Mrityunjay, Vidyasagar and Ramram Basu. Vidyasagar worked in the College at a period when it had lost all its glory. But here in this College the literary career of Vidyasagar began and his book *Betal Panchavimsati* written for the students is one of the most significant works in the history of Bengali prose. Ramram Basu (1757-1813)[46] worked in the College during its height of glory. Basu is one of the most fascinating characters in the literary history of Bengal. He knew Persian and some Sanskrit and learnt English through his associations with the Christian missionaries. He was one of the first Bengalis to be attracted to Christianity and wrote the first poem in the Bengali language praising Jesus Christ. His religious views, however, remained a mystry. He criticised Hinduism and helped the missionaries in translating the Bible into Bengali though he never accepted Christianity.

These were the men on whom Wellesely laid the responsibility of the College. In the middle of 1801 the College was humming with activities. Scholars from various parts of the country had assembled in one place. They spoke different languages, they dressed differently and they professed different religions. For the first time in the history of India so many scholars with such different background—social, religious and linguistic—met at one place. In May 1801 the happiest man in Calcutta was Wellesely.

Notes and References

1. For a history of the growth of Civil Service in India see O'malley (1931), Ghoshal (1944) and Ray, N.C. (1958), pp. 11-46.
2. Literature on this subject is fairly large. Among the most useful are the following: Monkton (1918). Feiling (1954). Spear (1958), Aspinall (1931) and Philips (1961).
3. Spear, p. 513.
4. Feiling, p. 11.
5. Ranking: *Bengal Past and Present*, VII, 1911, p. 5.
6. O'malley, pp. 229-30.
7. Martin (1837), II, pp. 325-55; also Roebuck (1819), pp. i-xxvii.
8. Martin, p. 326.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 329.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 340-1.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 346.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 356-61.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 356, also Ranking: *op. cit.*, XXI, July-Dec. 1920, p. I61.
14. Carey, W H. (1906), II, p. 151.
15. Martin, pp 329-30.
16. O'malley, p. 243.
17. Martin, pp. 347-8.
18. Vide *Statute*, Clause XII.
19. Proceeding of the Council of the College of Fort William, Home Miscellaneous File (Henceforth referred as HM) No. 559, dated 29.4.180.
20. Vide Statutes, Clause I.
21. Martin, *Appendix*, *k.*, p. 735.
22. Letter of Gilchrist dated 15.6.1803. HM 559, pp. 257-60.
23. See Kidwai (1972), pp. 34-59, also Siddiqi (1960).
24. Kidwai, p. 39.
25. See Carey, E. (1836), Carey, S.P. (1923), Walker (1926), Marshman, J.C. (1859), Das, Sajanikanta (1942). For Carey's contribution to Bengali literature see De, S.K. (1952), and Das, Sisir Kumar (1966).
26. HM 559., pp. 2-3, dt. 29.4.1801.
27. HM 560., p. 60.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 458-60.
29. HM 559., pp. 4-5.
30. HM 570., pp. 490-92.
31. HM 560., pp. 109-110.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 410. Resolution dt. 30.4.1805.
33. Faruki (1959), p. 217.
34. Saksena (1951).
35. He retired from the College in 4 May 1803 at the age of 63.
36. Saksena, *op. cit.*
37. HM 559. p. 386.
38. Saksena, *op, cit.*

39. HM 561., p. 186.
40. Varshneya (2004 Vikrami, 1947), p. 97, also Varshneya (1964), pp. 251-53.
41. Banerji, Brajendranath, *Sahitya Sadhak Charitmala*, I, 3, (1962).
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. Roebuck wrongly mentions this date as March 1803.
45. *Inf.*, Chap. VIII.
46. Banerji, *op. cit.*, I, vi.

CHAPTER TWO

First Crucial Years

The College started to function in anticipation of the approval of its establishment by the men at Leadenhall Street in London. Ninety seven students were admitted, including Charles T. Metcaffe who incidentally was the first student of the College of Fort William. Professors inspired by the zeal of Wellesely set out with ambitious plans. By 1802 Bengali Department published four books, the Hindustani Department three and the Arabic Department published a grammar of Arabic collated from several ancient manuscripts. First Public Disputations were held on 6 February 1802 which attracted the notice of the educated European community of Calcutta. It was a magnificient affair. In a state chair covered with crimson velvet with a group of *aides-de-champ* and secretaries standing behind him sat the Governor General, while servants with *punkhas* of crimson silk were fanning them and servants standing behind them with silver staffs. Next to him sat the examiners, and below them the distinguished ladies in glamorous attires and in the open space sat the disputants and the Professors.[1] And the room behind these and fronting the Governor General was filled with distinguished visitors and in the rear of all, the body guards in their colourful uniforms.

Then commenced the disputations after the preliminary remarks of the officials of the College in the following order:[2]

Persian Position: An Academic Institution in India is advantageous to the Natives and to the British Nation

Defended by Mr. J.H. Lovett. Chief opponent,

Mr. C. Lloyed; Second opponent, Mr. G. D. Gutherie. Moderator: Prof. John Baillie.

Bengali Position: The Asiatics are capable of as high a degree of Civilization as the Europeans
Defended by Mr. W.B. Martin. Chief opponent, Mr. W.B. Bayley; Second opponent Mr. H. Hodgson. Moderator: W.C. Blacquire Esq.

Hindustani Position: The Hindoostani Language is the most generally useful in India
Defended by Mr. W. B. Bayley. Chief opponent Mr. J. H. Lovett; Second opponent, Mr. C. Lloyed. Moderator: Prof. J. Gilchrist.

The performance of the students were creditable. The critics of Wellesely who were present on that occasion must have been happy to see the benefits of the College. But some of them must have felt unhappy to know that the amount spent on the College within less than a year—between 24 November 1800 and 31 October 1801—was £ 78,750.[3]

Order of Abolition

On 15 June 1802 the Governor General in Council received the command of the Court of Directors for the immediate abolition of the institution. Wellesely anticipated objections and he thought the Court of Directors could be persuaded to reason and to see the usefulness of the institution. But he could hardly anticipate that the order for its immediate abolition would come so abruptly.

Some scholars have pointed out that Wellesely had two major difficulties in persuading the Court of Directors to accept his proposal. Dundas, President of the Board of Control, retired in 1801. In the mean time Wellesely had made himself unpopular with the Company by his actions in respect of mercantile interest which was the chief interest of the Company. Both Dundas and Wellesely did not approve of the shipping interest of the Company.[4] Both advocated India built shipping for Indian export trade. When the Court of Directors were examining Wellesely's plan of a College in Calcutta news already reached that he had despatched India built ships to carry home part of the export

trade while at the same time despatching some of the regular ships of the Company from Calcutta half loaded. A powerful group within the Board of Directors took exception to this action and they wanted to retaliate.

The Court of Directors objected to the establishment of the College because, they argued, it must involve the Company "in an expense of considerable and unknown amount, and that the expense might be applied to purposes more beneficial for the Company's interest". This infuriated Wellesely and he hit hard with a strong sarcasm at the penny wise pound foolish policy of the Directors. He pointed out that he had actually provided for the current expenses of the College by new resources, which were Town Duties and the Government Customs reviewd by Regulation 5,10 and 11 of 1801. He reiterated "that the current expenses of the College therefore, now constitutes no additional charge on the Company's revenue's in Bengal, as they existed previously to the foundation of the Institution."[5]

The Court of Directors, however, did realise the necessity of learning Indian languages. They suggested to reestablish on an enlarged scale the Institution, what they described as 'Mr. Gilchrist's Seminary', which existed before. They also intended to found a similar establishment at Fort St. George. Wellesely pointed out the inadequacies of the Oriental Seminary and that fragmentation of the College of Fort William would result in desultoriness. Moreover, that would "probably exceed the total current charges of the College of Fort William."[6] Wellesely's defence of the College was not only very spirited but extremely scholarly, too. The manner in which he described the importance of Sanskrit and Arabic learning, for example, and their relation to the younger languages of India and the law and customs of the country, betrays his profound understanding of their utility for an efficient administration of India. His ideas about language teaching were also remarkably modern. Wellesely concluded his letter with this observation that the abolition would be improper until December 1802, in fact till December 1803, since students had been admitted and they would be forced to leave their studies incomplete. Moreover it would be 'harshness and disrespect' to the teachers. Native scholars had been appointed from various parts of the country and Wellesely wrote that "it would also be an act of the most flagrant impolity, nor would be

consistent either with the interest or honour of the Company in India."

Charles Grant, the Director of the Board, who was certainly above the narrow merchantile mentality, however, made the situation worse comfounded. Kopf has very rightly observed that "for the moment the College of Fort William had become a political football in a larger economic struggle between the members of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control."[7] The struggle was not only economic, though that was the major issue, it was also a struggle between personalities and their different cultural attitudes. Wellesely's letter of 5.8.1802 reached London in January 1803 when the College had assumed a bigger form. Another twentythree students had enrolled names in addition to ninetyseven students of the earlier year and £224,555 had been already spent. Wellesely appealed to Castlereag who had become the President of the Board of Control in June 1802. Castlereag meant to defend Wellesely but there was a powerful opposition from the Court.[8] Wellesely's letter threw fat into fire: his insinuations against their merchantile mentality created more misunderstanding and they expressed strongly against those 'unjust imputations'.

Grant had first-hand knowledge about India. He spent twenty-two year in India (1788-90) in the service of the Company. Since the unfonunate death of his two sons in Calcutta in 1776 he became deeply religious and became associated with religious activities.[9] He took initiative towards the establishment of Christian Missions in Bengal. He was greatly interested in the establisment of St. John's Church in Calcutta in 1784. He helped the Kiernander's Mission in Calcutta and acquired a building for them. He proposed for a Mission to Bengal and Bihar in 1737.[10] Having returned from Bengal Grant wrote in 1792 a pamphlet entitled *observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain particularly with respect to Morals and on the means of improving it.*[11] In this essay he criticised Hinduism with vehemence. He found the Hindus a race of culturally inferior and morally depraved people. The solution for the social and moral problems of the Hindus, he suggested, was thorough Westernization. He advocated English education for the Indians very strongly as he did for their evangelization. Embree has rightly observed that Grant

anticipated the ideas of Macauly on the one hand and of Alexander Duff on the other.[12]

Grant in a letter to the Rev. David Brown dated 19 June 1801 wrote, "believing the Institution to be capable of producing considerable effects, not political only but religious and moral, it was my wish especially to give a favourable turn as I could", but his illness, he wrote, prevented him from doing so.[13] This was certainly a lame excuse. Both Brown and Buchanan pleaded that the College would be a viable centre for the gradual evangelization of India. Grant though attracted by that possibility, saw three major objections to it. First, it would be a financial burden to the Company, second, its area of operation was too wide, and, third, its teaching programmes were too ambitious. He thought that young Englishmen should be trained in England before they were sent to India where their studies sould be confined to Oriental subjects only. However, according to Embree, Grant approved some of the features of Wellesely's plan but in his despatch of 1798 Wellesely made a statement which made Grant apprehensive of the whole proposal.[14] According to that despatch the civil servants might undergo an "assimilation to Eastern opinions" instead of retaining all the distinctions of our national principles, characters and usages".[15] Grant thought this was an encouragement to Indianization of the civil servants and Grant detested that. He had seen the trend of Indianization among the Englishmen during his stay in Bengal. He feared that Indianization would eventually lead to colonization. He thought "civil servants would not have to send their sons home to be educated, and in this way a heriditory class of civil servants would soon be created divorced from English life and self-perpetuating."[16] This possibility was shocking to a man who dreamt of a Westernized and Christian India. The College of Fort William, therefore, he thought, was not only a potential threat to his vision of India but to the very root of British relation with that country. His refusal to give full assent to Wellesely's plan can be seen, as very clearly pointed out by Embree, as part of a basic disagreement over the nature of the Company's rule in India with Wellesely.[17]

In 1803 at the Annual Public Disputation Wellesely again declared very eloquently the importance of the labours of the scholars in the College. He observed, "the operations of these

useful labours will not be confined to the limits of the Institution or of this empire. Such works tend to promote the general diffusion of Oriental literature and knowledge in every quarter of the globe."[18] Grant had no respect, inspite of his porsonal admiration for Sir William Jones, for Oriental learning and he did not see any reason why "the general diffusion of Oriental literature" should be considered an useful exercise. Wellesely of course added in his speech that "principles on which this Institution is founded, the spirit which it is designed to diffuse, and the purposes which it is calculated to accomplish" will embrace power and glory of the Empire." But he failed to convince Grant.

ESTABLISMENT OF THE HAILEYBURY COLLEGE

In a letter to his son-in-law, Grant revealed "the true reason for the wreck" of Wellesely's scheme. "It is singular enough", wrote Grant, "that he himself inadvertently furnished the means of defeat. His letter to the Court on enlarging the privilege of private traders arrived opportunely for that party to support their declining cause."[19] Grant noticed the strong support Wellesely received from the Board as well as from many high officials. He, therefore, thought of an alternative plan which would satisfy the powerful lobby at home and at the same time prevent Wellesely to continue with his expensive adventure. When on 1804 the Committee of Correspondance was asked by the Court to offer suggestions on a revised plan for training the civil servants the Committee recommended the establishment of a College in England for that purpose. Embree writes, "there was never any question in the minds of those familiar with the Company's administration that Grant was the driving force behind the move to establish a college and was the author of the Report that outlined its constitution."[20] When the Court approved the scheme the Haileybury College was established in 1806.

In another letter dated 17 September 1805 written to Sir James Mackintosh, Grant observed that, "the leading design of this institution of ours was not the suppression of the Calcutta College. Its professed intention was its real one, to give the best education which could be crowded into the years of youngmen

destined for India should pass in this country. But it may incidentally have the effect of reducing the studies of the Calcutta College to subjects purely Oriental."[21] The decision of the establishment of the Haileybury College was a fatal blow to the College of Fort William. Wellesely did not want the college to become a seminary of Oriental learning only but he had to reduce it to a training centre of Oriental languages.

The Haileybury College started to function from 12 May 1806. It introduced the following subjects: (1) Mathematics and Natural philosophy, (2) Classical and General Literature, (3) History and Political Economy, (4) General Policy Laws of England, (5) Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Languages, and (6) Hindu Literature and History of Asia. Arrangement was made that recruits to the Civil Service must spend two years at Haileybury for a general education and for learning Indian languages at an elementary level and then they would spend some time at the College of Fort William. And though it was regulated that all civil servants must spend three years at the College of Fort William, this regulation was repealed in 1807. A student could stay there for a much shorter period depending upon his progress in language learning.

Reduction in the Structure of the College

Even before the establishment of the Haileybury College. the Court of Directers by their order of 28 September 1803 detached the servants of the Company under the Presidency of St. George and of Bombay from the College of Fort William. On 9 February 1805 when Wellesely delivered his speech on the occasion of the fourth Public Disputations, he did not realise what was stored in the future for the College. He was happy with the progress of Bengali and Marathi, instruction in that language started from January 1804 when a Marathi scholar was appointed[22], and emphasized the importance of the study of Hindu and Islamic laws. He hoped that "a considerable progress may be made with the aid of the learning and skill of the principal judical officers of this Government in establishing a regular course of study in the Moohumadan and Hindoo Codes of Law".[23] And he concluded his sppeech with hope and enthusiasm: "You will derive from this Institution the most effectual means of

preserving and securing to the inhabitants of this prosperous regions, that primary objects of all good government, the greatest blessings, attainable by any people—an impartial adminstration of just law."[24] Within two months, however, the Governor General in Council ordered that the College had to be reduced and the following reductions were proposed:

(*i*) One person should held the post of the Provost and there should not be any Vice-Provost. It was recommended, however, that Brown and Buchanan be allowed to continue their offices.
(*ii*) Offices of the teachers of Modern Languages and of Experimental Philosophy be abolished from 1 June 1805.
(*iii*) Offices of the Professor of Arabic and Persian shall be held by one person.
(*iv*) Offices of the Second Assistant to the Professor of Hindustani and of Persian be abolished.
(*v*) The College Council was directed to enter upon an immediate revision of the Native Establishment.
(*vi*) There should a reduction in salary, prizes and in printing.[25]

Brown, Buchanan and Colbrooke in their letter of 24 June 1805 pleaded that no further reduction was possible in the Native Establishment except in the number of the Certified Munshis, the lowest paid scholars in the College. The proposed reductions changed the character of the Institution radically. Abolition of the post of teachers of modern languages (which included European languages) and of Experimental Philosophy, the discontinuance of the teaching of Mathematics, when Dinwiddle left, and of Greek and Latin when Buchanon resigned, finally reduced the College of Fort William into a centre of Oriental languages only contrary to the wishes of its founder. The chart following shows the changes proposed by them.

		Chief Munshi	*Second Munshis*	*Other Munshis*			*Certified Munshi*	*Expenditure (in rupees)*
Salary per Month		200	100	80	60	40	30	
Persian	E	1	1	2	2	12	16	1,540
	P	1	1	2	2	12	4	1,180
Hindustani	E	1	1	2	2	12	27	1,920
	P	1	1	2	2	12	16	1,590
Bengali	E	1	1	—	—	6	6	
Sanskrit	E	1	—	—	—	2	3	1,260
Marathi	E	—	1	—	—	—	2	
Bengali	P	—	1	—	—	—	—	
Sanskrit	P	1	—	—	—	8	3	850
Marathi	P	—	—	1	—	—	—	

E=existing P=proposed

Hindustani Department had one Bhakha Munshi at a salary of Rs 50 per month. He was retained since he was the only teacher of 'Hindi'. Carey proposed that the Chief Pandit of Bengali be made the Chief Pandit of Sanskrit though he would help in the teaching of Bengali. 8 other Munshis and 3 Certified Munshis shown against Sanskrit in the chart in the column of proposed changes were not exclusively for Sanskrit but were meant to be shared by Bengali and Marathi sections also. Arabic Department remained unaffected so far as the retrenchment of the Munshis is concerned.

Hindustani Department reduced its expenditure by Rs 330/- only. Bengali, Marathi and Sanskrit Establishment had to cut down their expenditure by Rs 410/-. Even before this proposal of reduction in October 1803 the monthly salaries of Mrityunjay Vidyalamkar and of Ramnath Vachaspati were reduced though they received their usual salary from next month through the intervention of William Carey.[26] Though in the beginning Sanskrit-Bengali-Marathi Establishment alone suffered heavily slowly other departments became equally unfortunate victims of the policy of retrenchment.

This proposal of change was, however, hardly satisfactory to the Court of Directors. By the beginning of 1806 the Court had already decided to reduce the College to a minimum size. G.H. Burlow, the Visitor of the College, during the Public Disputations on 12 March 1806 was perhaps still optimistic and he tried to

console the teachers of the College that the Haileybury College was "not intended to supersede the College of Fort William" and he very strongly hoped that "the system of Oriental study projected in England will tend to support the efficiency of this Institution and accelerate its operation by affording to the youth who destined for this country the advantages of an earlier proficiency in these branches of knowledge which are considered to be peculiarly adopted to the nature of their future duties, and of an earlier acquisition of the rudiments of the Oriental languages".[27]

In spite of this solemn assurance by the Visitor, teachers in the College were anxiously waiting for the order from the Court. On 30th July that year the Provost received a letter from the Chief Secretary to the Governor General along with an extract from a Public General letter from the Court of Directors.[28] The content of that letter was that twelve trunks of books transmitted by the Lady Jane Dundas and Lord Nelson had arrived in England. Six trunks were supposed to be for the Company's library but later it had been found that only one was for the Company and the rest for presentation to different universities, Public schools and Societies in the name of the College of Fort William. The Court of Directors felt insulted at this "unprecedented and disrespectful form and manner in which it has been executed". They criticised the books as of inferior quality and thought that it was "highly derogatory to the dignity of the Company's Government in India, to have made an ostentatious display of its pretensions to Public Approbation for having patronized the publication of a few elementary books which whatever their merits may be as such can claim no other rank in Literature".[29]

This criticism was certainly harsh and unjustified. The College of Fort William was primarily interested in producing pedagogical materials and did not claim any special literary merit for those works. The College Council sent a report along separate notes from some Professors. Harrington reported that these books were not sent by the College Council and there was no record or mention whatever upon the subject.[30] However, it came to be known from an enquiry that twelve trunks of books were sent in consequence of a note from Buchanan dated 14 January 1805, but it was not known on what authority they were sent. Buchanan was absent in the College so no explanation could be given.[31]

Harrington must have felt awkward as he could not explain the case satisfactorily. He resigned from the College Council almost immediately. Colebrooke, too, resigned from the post of the Professor of Sanskrit though he mentioned that his decision to resign had no connection with this unfortunate incident. Within six month the College Council received a Public General letter dated 21 May 1806 from the Court of Directors asking the College to reduce its size to a minimum. It ordered to abolish the posts of the Provost and of the Vice-Provost and of all Assistant Professors. It was also asked to reduce the posts of the Munshis, and to diminish the salaries of servants and value of prizes. And all reduction must take place by the last day of 1806.[32]

Notes and References

1. Based on the description of a similar occasion written in 1818 to be found in Sketches of India, *Calcutta Journal*, I, New Series, 3.1.1822, p. 26. Quoted in Kopf (1969), p. 63.
2. HM 559., p. 25f.
3. Martin, p. 642.
4. Letter of Wellesely dt. 30.9.1800. See Owen (1877), pp. 701-18; also letter of Dundas to the Earl of Mornington dt. 18.3.1799 received at Fort Willlam on 5.8.1799. *Ibid.*, pp. 676-701.
5. Martin, p. 643, for the full text of the letter pp. 640-66.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 649.
7. Kopf, p. 131.
8. Philips, 127f.
9. Morris (1904), pp. 56-9.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-114.
11. Quoted full in *Parliamentary Papers*, House of Commons, 1812-3, X. For an analysis and estimate ses Embree (1962), pp. 143-49.
12. Embree, p. 151.
13. Morris, p. 241.
14. Embree, p. 100.
15. Martin, *Appendix N*. Extract from Public Letter to Bengal dt. 23.5.1798.
16. Embree, p. 190.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
18. HM 559., pp. 160-5.
19. Morris, p. 243.
20. Embree, p. 195.
21. Morris, p. 245.
22. HM 559., p. 307.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 459.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 462.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 407-10.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 288. Resolution of 24.10.1803.
27. HM 560., p. 98.
28. Dt. 28.2.1806 paragraphs 132-6.
29. HM 560., p. 155.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 353-55.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 203-05.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 221-2.
34. Marshman, J.C., (1859) I, p. 192.

CHAPTER THREE

Indian Languages at the College

The direct impact of the Asiatic Society and of the later educational policy of the East India Company was a revival of ancient Indian learning. The College of Fort William, as we have already made it clear, was not established with any such motive. It was primarily interested in the living speeches of India. One of the most important motives behind the establishmeat of the College was to make British officers able to communicate with the people of India in their own languages and to make the officers acquainted with the laws of the country. The early traders and soldiers who came from England in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century must have noticed with surprise the multiplicity of languages in India. Among the European languages Dutch, French and Portuguese were spoken in certain areas by European traders and soldiers. Portugnese was often considered to be the lingua franca among the Europeans in the coastal areas. J.C. Marshman informs that "the charter granted to the East India Company contained a provision that they should maintain one Minister at each of their garrisons and superior factories, and that he should be bound to acquire the Portuguese language within a twelve month of reaching India. Clive. who was never able to give an order in any native languages, spoke Portuguese with fluency."[1] Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, Protuguese became virtually extinct in the coastal areas of Bengal.

While a knowledge of Protuguese certainly helped the British officers in communicating with other Europeans in the coastal areas, the necessity for learning Indian languages was increasingly

felt. The languages to which British soldiers were exposed first was Urdu or Hindustani (as it was known in those days), and Persian to some extent. Persian was the language of the royal court and administration, and Urdu was prevalent among the Indian soldiers in many parts of the country and, of course, was well established as the language of the Muslim nobility. The East India Company officials employed several munshis as interpreters and as scribes for communication between the Muslim Court and the Company. Hindustani received great importance indeed because of the notion that it was understood in all parts of India. Even after the establishment of the College of Fort William many officers were appointed in the rural areas of Bengal, for example, who knew Hindustani but no Bengali. On the evidence of several Bengali novels and plays one can assume that the typical Bengali used by Englishmen was often interspersed by Hindustani words. Bankim chandra Chatterji in his novels *Chandrashekhar*, *Anandamath* and *Debi Chaudhurani*—all three novels depict the social life of mid-eighteenth century Bengal—has used this kind of Bengali in the speech of English characters. Dinabandhu Mitra in his play *Nil Darpan* (1860) has used similar kind of Bengali in the dialogues of British Indigo-planters. Some inference can be made about the over all importance of Hindustani in the linguistic activities of Englishmen in India from these novels and plays. Bankim Chandra and Dinabandhu Mitra who had spent a considerable period of their life in rural Bengal must have heard such Bengali. There was no provision for the teaching of Assamese, Oriya, Gujrati or Sindhi in the College of Fort William. Most probably it was believed that a knowledge of Hindustani and, in some cases, of Bengali was enough to communicate with the speakers of these languages. In order to understand the relative importance of the languages in India in the life of the British official one must try to understand the language situation in India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century as well as the condition of literary scholarship of these periods.

Condition of Arabic Learning

When departments of Arabic and of Persian were finally merged together and importance of Arabic declined Professor Baillie opposed it and wanted to retain a separate department for Arabic.

He pointed out that Arabic was of great necessity for communication in some parts of Western India. He, however, did not state it clearly among which group of people Arabic was current. Baillie gave the impression that Arabic was spoken by a considerable number of Indians. On the other hand in 1810 the College appointed Sheikh Ahmad a native speaker of Arabic because, Lumsden observed, 'the pronunciation of the Indian scholars of Arabic is of a nature so exceedingly vicious as to be utterly unintelligible to the ear of an Arab'.[2] In spite of Baillie's observation it is known from other sources that there was hardly a large number of Arabic *speakers* in India, though there was a significant number of Indian scholars of Arabic. Gilchrist wrote in the preface to the *Oriental Fabulist* (1803) that "the Arabic scholars in this country have hitherto, I believe, contended theirselves in general with mere reading and studying in that language; few indeed having been so well versed in the subject as to speak or compose in it, with tolerable facility, if we except some excellent books in philology and logic".[3]

In 1817 Lumsden gave a report of the state of Arabic studies in India which is a valuable document in the history of Arabic learning in this country. This report, which is quoted below, was written mainly to justify the appointment of Sheikh Ahmad but it contained valuable information about the quality of Arabic scholarship in the nineteenth century India even if one considers some of the statements exaggerated.

> "Among those who assume the title of Mauluvees many are mere imposters having scarcely any knowledge of Arabic. Other having gone through the ordinary course of Education, assume, that title as a matter of course, and are found on trial, wholly unable to explain the books they profess to have read. The best of them (could the extent of their knowledge be appreciated in Europe) would be esteemed, I think, as men of profound learning in all the studies, to which they are addicted and of ignornance almost equally profound in many other studies of much easier attainment as Geography, History and the knowledge of which is very generally diffused over Europe.
>
> "The studies of Mauluvees are chiefly metaphysical and with the exception of a little Mathematics, seldom extend beyond

Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Law and what may be called Mental Philosophy. On all these subjects, there are in India, many Arabic books; and there is no doubt that the study of them often constitutes the great blessings of life whatever may be their merits. They are unquestionably, therefore, well understood, but the vocabulary of Logic is almost as limited as that of Mathematics, and the same observation is more or less applicable to every one of the sciences which I have noticed, as objects of attraction to the learned in India.

"By them, the Arabic language has been rarely acquired and seldom studied for its own sake, but only for the sake of its laws, Religion and metaphysical science and a Mauluvee is not so properly a master of the language, as a man who understands these intricate subjects and who generally speaking understands nothing else. He is ignortant of history, poetry, and general literature, because books of general literature, however, aboundant in the Arabic languags, have rarely found their way into India, but he has acquired habits of thoughts and reflexion, is fully master of the principles of language and accustomed in the course of his metaphysical studies, to conquer difficulties of a more stubborn nature than those that relate to the mere knowledge of words.

"He believes, therefore (and very justly), that his attainments are of a nature superior to the mere practical attainment of languages and that the latter may at any time be mastered without much difficulty by him who has been able to master the former. Yet in point of fact they are very seldom made, and it is accordingly known that foı a long time after the institution of the College there was no possibility of finding Mauluvees qualified either to speak or to write the Arabic language or to teach any other than metaphysical books which they themselves were accustomed to read.

"Those books were however, very ill adapted for the instruction of the students and it became an early object of the Professor's attention to substitute others of a more captivating nature, and better fitted to teach the practical part of the language. By the aid of the Mauluvees some such books were accordingly prepared since the Institution . . . is indebted to them for the publication of the Soorah and the Mukamati Hureeree to which may be added the Khwanoos

Suffa prepared by Mauluvee Roshan Alee, and taught manuscripts in the Arabic class before it was published by Shykh Ahmud.

"But the Mauluvees knowing the limited extent of their own acquirements have no self-confidence in such undertakings which by them are always persued with diffidence and very slowly accomplished by the united efforts of several individuals. To remedy this defect, it was believed therefore to be indispensibly necessary to have recourse to the services of a native Arabian and Shykh Ahmud accordingly employed."[4]

The account given by Lumsden about Arabic learning is by and large true though it is rather surprising to know that he did not find Maulavis qualified to write Arabic. There must have been many scholars who could *write*[5] Arabic even if they were not able to speak that language. Ram Mohun Roy, for examples wrote the preface to his *Tufat-ul-Muhauddin* (1803) in Arabic.

Arabic studies, however, did never flourish in India as an independent discipline. During the rule of Akbar, if one believes Badauni, "reading and learning Arabic was looked as a crime".[6] Even during the rule of Aurangzeb though Quranic studies received much encouragement, other branches of Arabic literature were neglected. The founders of the College of Fort William recognized its importance primarily because of two reasons. It was considered that knowledge of Arabic was essential for learning Persian. In fact the subject for the first public disputation in Arabic in the College was—'The Study of Arabic is essentially necessary to the attainment of a gramatical knowledge of the Persian Language'. In medieaval India Arabic was studied along with Persian for the same reason. Any student of Classical Persian had to learn Arabic because Classical Persian has borrowed a large number of vocables as well as many poetical forms and literary genres. But the other reason for which Arabic enjoyed special prestige in India, being the source language of Muslim Law, was greatly appreciated by the College of Fort William.

PERSIAN AND SANSKRIT LEARNING

While Arabic was a dead language in India in the eighteenth century Persian was very much a living language. Like Arabic, Persian was also introduced in India by the Muslims and by the end of the thirteenth century it was established as one of the most important languages of the country. Like Indo-Persian art, a great body of Indo-Persian literature was produced in India. Though many scholars do not praise the Persian writings of Indians very highly, it is generally admitted that many Indians have excelled in Persian. The greatest of them all is Amir Khasrau (1253-1325) who is not only the greatest Indian poet to write in Persian but also one of the immortals of Persian literature, During the Pathan and the Mughal periods large number of books were written in Persian in India and prolific literary activity in Persian continued till the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The Hindu elite of the medieaval period made Persian a language of their own which promised a brighter career in the royal court. As late as 1829 when a journal *Bangadut* was published from Calcutta it was printed in four languages including Persian. Several Bengali Brahmas, including Devendranath Tagore and Rajnarayan Basu drew much of their spiritual inspiration from Hafiz and Rumi. These facts indicate the great prestige Persian enjoyed in Bengal among the Hindus. When Persian was replaced by English in 1838 it not only wounded the pride of the Indian Muslims but of many Hindus in Bengal. If such was the position of Persian in Bengal it can be imagined what honour it received in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, Delhi and Panjab, Sindh and Hydrabad. Regional literatures like Kasmiri and Sindhi and Bengali, not to speak of Urdu, had a varying measure of influence of Persian and till the end of the eighteenth century it was the most supple and sophisticated instrument of communication among the elite. The College of Fort William recognized the importance of this language and naturally its most prestigious language department was Persian.

As compared to Persian, Sanskrit was a venerable corpse in the late eighteenth century. It was studied by few scholars who jealously guarded it from the non-Brahmins and the non-Hindus. Sanskrit learning, like Arabic learning, in the

eighteenth century India lost all its dynamism and remained confined within philosophical and grammatical speculations and that too was often nothing more than a repetition of traditional systems. There were great scholars, no doubt but none of them displayed any originality in thinking or any creative spirit in their writings. Like Arabic learning in India, poetry and other branches of imaginative literature in Sanskrit were generally neglected. It is interesting to note that the scholars in the College of Fort William were specialists in logic and philosophy, as their titles (*Tarkalamkar, Tarka Churamani, Vidyalamkar* etc.) show, but very few of them specialised in imaginative literature.

The importance of Sanskrit as a language in the socio-religious context of India, however had never diminished. And in the last quarter of the eighteenth century Sanskrit assumed a new importance when Sir William Jones conjectured the relationship between Sanskrit and other Indo-European languages. The College of Fort William recognized the value of Sanskrit for three major reasons. First, what Arabic was for the study of Islamic law, Sanskrit was for Hindu law. Second, it was the language in which was treasured the Hindu wisdom of the past. Third, Sanskrit was important in the study of modern Indo-Aryan languages. It is interesting note that the subjects for the third public disputation in Hindustani was: 'Sanskrit is the parent language of India'.

Hindi and Hindustani

The language which the British officials found most useful for them was Hindustani. This term is rather ambiguous though Gilchrist and other scholars of Indian languages meant *Urdu* by this term. Hindustani was really a blanket term and meant several other dialects of what is known as *Hindi* today. Varshneya mentions that the word Hindustani was used by Farishta long before it was used by Europeans.[7] It was also known as *Hindvi* or *Hindwi*. Amir Khasrau used both these words in a verse:

> *turke hindustanian man hindwi goyam jawab*
> *shakkare misri nadaram kaz arab goyam sukhan*
> (I am an Indian Turk and I speak Hindwi. I have
> no Egyptian sugar so that I may speak Arabic.)

Prof. S.K. Chatterji describes Hindustani as "the *ka-me-par-se, is-us-jis-kis, ma-ta-a-ga* speech" taking into consideration the post-positions, the oblique pronominal forms and the affixes for the infinitive, present participle and past participle and the future tense in different varieties of the same language, namely Urdu, Sanskritised Hindi and the Khari Boli.[8] Gilchrist noticed that there was a common language understood all over India what he called Hindustani. He tried to make a distinction between Hindustani and Hindwi. He wrote in the *Appendix* (1798) "Hindoos will naturally lean most to the Hinduwee, while the Muosulmans will of course be more partial to Arabic and Persian, whence two styles arise, namely the court or high style and the country or pristine style, leaving the middle or familiar current style between them, which I have recommended as the best".[9] This is basically a distinction between two styles of the same language. Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (I, 1927) wrote that Hindustani is "primarily the language of the upper Gangetic Doab, and is also the lingua franca of India, capable of being written in both Persian and Devanagari characters, and without purism, avoiding alike the excessive use of either Persian or Sanskrit words when employed for literature. The name Urdu can then be confined to that special variety of Hindustani in which Persian words are of frequent occurance; . . . and similarly Hindi can be confined to the form of Hindustani in which Sanskrit words abound." This shows that Grierson did not want to mean Urdu only when he used the term Hindustani, but in the college of Fort William Hindustani and Urdu were almost synonymous. The College, however, made an arrangement for the teaching of *Braj Bhasha.* The term *Hindi* instead of *Braj Bhasha* was used only at a later stage. But *Hindi* and Hindustani were often confused and the distinction between the two as it is recognised today was debated for a long time in the last century.

Hindi and Hindvi have been used to denote an Indian language as distinct from a non-Indian one. Amir Khasrau used both these terms and so did some scholars preceeding him.[10] Shah Miranji Shamsul Ushaq (d. 1495), for example, calls his composition Hindi. When Urdu was emerging as a distinct literary style and also when established itself as a distinct speech as opposed to different dialects generally designated as dialects of Hindi,

had different names. The name Urdu, however, was quite well known in the eighteenth century. Mir in his anthology *Nikat-ush-Shura* (1752) used the expression *zaban-i-urdu-mulla*. This name occurs in Qaim's *Mahzan-i-Nikat* (1754) and also in the writings of Baqar Agah, a poet of the Decan, and also in Ali Ibrahim Khan's *Tadhkirae-Gulzar-i-Ibrahim* (1783). Therefore, it is not clear why Gilchrist did not use the term Urdu straightway to identify the language he chose to teach. The only possible explanation is that he was trying to create a new style which would steer the middle course between the Persianized Urdu and the more pedestrian Khariboli of his time. In one of his letters dt. 20 January 1802 he described "the Hindoostanee is in fact still in the embryo state".[11] Certainly Urdu was not in the embryonic stage in the early nineteenth century.

Hindustani was the spoken language of the people of the upper Gangetic Valley and the neighbouring region. Braj Bhasha which was spoken in Mathura, Agra, Aligarh, Bharatpur and Dhaulpur was primarily a literary language. Avadhi which had considerable prestige being the language of Tulsidas and Jaisi was also a literary language. There were several other dialects such as Bangru or Hariyani, Kanauji, Bundeli, Chattisgarhi etc. But it is not an over-statement that the medieaval Hindi literature was written mainly in Braj Bhasha. Even Tulsidas wrote his *Gitavali*, *Vinay Patrika* etc. in Braj. While Avadhi was generally confined only in the area where it was spoken by the people as their first language, Braj Bhasha was cultivated by many those who did not speak it as their mother-tongue. But Hindi which assumed greater prestige in the nineteenth century was not the language of Tulsi but the Khariboli which was orginaliy a spoken language of Delhi and Meerut—known as *Kuru Janapad* in ancient time. To be more precise—it was used in four districts Merath (Meerut), Mujaffarpur, Saharanpur and Dehradun. Pahari is spoken towards the north of this area, in south lies the Braj Bhasha area, in the east is spoken Kanauji and towards the east from Ambala begins the area of Panjabi. Khariboli was dominated to a great extent by Braj Bhasha on the one hand and Persian on the other. In south Khariboli was adopted by a large number of Muslims and when it borrowed words of Perso-Arabic provenance a literary dialect known as *Rekhta* (and later as *Dakhni*) emerged out of it. Muhammad

Kuli of the Qutab Shahi dynasty who was on the throne of Golkunda in 1580 is generally considered as the first poet of Rekhta. In north India it was used by Amir Khasrau. Around 1700 when the poet Wali of Aurangabad (1668-1774) came to Delhi, Khariboli was slowly replacing Persian in certain spheres of literary activity. Since that time Khariboli also came to be known as Hindustani. Thus Khariboli through different circumstances came to be known as Rekhta, Dakhni, Hindustani and finally Urdu. At one stage it was primarily a language common among the Muslims. Poets of Braja Bhasha. such as Keshav, Bhushan etc., used this variety of Hindustani in the dialogues of Muslim characters though later it was adopted by many Hindus. Often Khariboli and Urdu were used as identical terms. Dr. Tarachand has pointed out that Bharatendu Harish Chandra wrote in 1871 in connection with the origin of the Agarwala community, 'the speech of the Agarwalas—of both men and women—was Khariboli *i.e.* Urdu". "What was true of the Agarwala community", writes Dr. Tarachand, "was equally true of other communities of northern India".[12]

However, a distinction must be made between Khariboli and Urdu. Urdu was a Persianised style of Khariboli which developed into a sophisticated literary dialect. But Khariboli as such was not a literary language and it was identical with Hindustani. At least that was the situation when the College of Fort William came to existence. Otherwise the question of Hindustani being in its formative stage as a literary language would not have raised at all.

BENGALI

The least prestigious language in the College at its early stage was Bengali. Though Bengali had a distinguished literary history it hardly received any recognition by the Bengali scholars most of whom were too engrossed in Sanskrit.[13] Many educated Bengalis of the late eighteenth centuries had little knowledge about Bengali literature. Rammohun Roy in his Bengali Grammar made a very disparaging remark about Bengali literature of the earlier period. And it is quite well known that Mrityunjay Vidyalankar, the head pandit of the College of Fort William, thought Bengali was an undignified language for

Sanskrit texts to be translated into it. The proposal to use Bengali in a wider area came first from Halhed who wrote in his *Grammar of the Bengal Language* (1778) "it is much better calculated both for public and private affairs by its plainness, its precision and regularity of construction, than the flowery sentences and modulated periods of Persian".[11] Fortunately for Bengali William Carey became the first teacher of that language in the College of Fort William who in the face of strong opposition from his colleagues and inspite of the indifference of the College Council worked hard to secure a better position for Bengali which he thought "were it properly cultivated, it would be deserving a place among those which are accounted the most elegant and expressive".[15]

Relative Importanance of the Indian Languages

In the intial stage the most important language in the College of Fort William was Persian. Next important language was Hindustani which according to Gilchrist was the "most general colloquial tongue in India, and one of constant use and occurance with our servants, teachers and dependents of any description".[16] Bengali was the third language in the College in order of popularity. Arabic, though it had a prestigious department till 1806, never attracted large number of students. Sanskrit was hardly studied in the College. Among other Indian languages Marathi was studied by a couple of students. Marathi, Tamil—in 1804 there was one Mr. Sanders studying Tamil in the College—and Telugu which were introduced in the College in 1801 were soon shifted to language-teaching centres established in Bombay and at St. George. The following tables show the number of students offering courses in various languages during the period between 1801 and 1830.

Language	*1801*	*1802*	*1803*	*1804*	*1805*	*1806*	*1807*	*1808*	*1809*	*1810*
Arabic	23	4	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	0
Persian	72	12	17	7	10	18	14	17	9	17
Hindustani	66	15	7	14	13	24	17	22	11	23
Bengali	26	6	11	7	7	8	4	11	5	15
Sanskrit	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marathi	0	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

These information have been collected from the Proceedings of the College Council (Home Miscellaneous 570). There were a few students about whom it is not known whether they studied some other language later. And about some students we are not sure which language they studied. Had all information been available to use then figures indicated against some language might have been slightly higher but they would not change the general picture. This table shows that Persian was the most popular language among the students. From 1804 Hindustani began to attract more students but Persian always had a good number of students. Sanskrit had only two students during the first ten years—I. Hayes and F. Impey, son of Sir Elijah Impey. This figure is bit doubtful because in 1804 there was a public disputation in Sanskrit which implies the presence of a few students doing Sanskrit that year. Few more students studied Sanskrit later as the following table indicates but there was no student of Marathi after 1806 the reason being Marathi was dropped from the College.

Number of Students	*Languages*				
admitted each year	*Arabic*	*Persian*	*Hindustani*	*Bengali*	*Sanskrit*
1811	0	11	15	6	0
1812	0	13	12	10	1
1818	2	25	18	12	1
1814	1	26	15	13	2
1815	1	9	7	3	1
1816	0	20	14	8	0
1817	1	14	9	6	0
1818	0	19	13	6	1
1819	0	19	10	10	1
1820	0	15	12	3	0
1821	1	20	19	1	0
1822	1	14	13	1	0
1823	1	11	11	1	0
1824	0	23	16	7	0
1825	0	17	8	9	0
1826	0	25	9	17	0
1827	2	47	20	29	0
1828	0	14	2	12	0
1829	0	11	10	14	0
1830	0	9	6	9	0

The status of a language within the College was determined by the number of students it attracted. Persian and Hindustani enjoyed the greatest privilege that the College could offer. Till 1826, from which time popularity of Hindustani began to decline, the prestige of Persian and Hindustani was so high that students of those languages were a pointed in important positions in Bengal and knowledge of Bengali was not considered important in many cases for such appointments. Few examples are given here.

Name of the Officer	*Languages Studied*	*Office and Station*
P W. Pechell	P H	Judge, Provincial Court, Dacca
G. French	H	Judge, Provincial Court, Murshidabad
R. Vansitart	P	Collector, Manipur
D. Campbell	P A	Judge and Magistrate, Hugli
R.O. Wyne	P	Judge Provincial Court, Dacca
D. Morrison	P H	Judge Provincial Court, Murshidabad
R.J. Powell	P	Collector, Chittagong
R. Thackery	P A	Collector, 24 Parganas
J. Mainwaring	P H	Commercial Resident, Cossim Bazar
W. Hope	P H A	Salt Agent, Jessore
W.B. Gordon	P H	Salt Agent, 24 Parganas
T.H. Barlow	P H	Salt Agent, Hijli

This indifference to Bengali was partly because of the belief prevalent among the early British officials that Bengali was hardly different from Hindustani. And "to the perpetuation of this error the influence and untiring advocacy of the Urdu by Gilchrist greatly contributed . . . he gave the impression that Bengali was a mere patois, and that Urdu was to be the only medium of literary and social intercourse between natives and Europeans".[17] In the first phase of the history of the College of Fort William Persian and Hindustani/Urdu dominated the scene. In the second phase Hindi became the rival of Hindustani and the prestige of Hindustani began to decline. Bengali remained neglected in both the phases and had to struggle very hard to win a place of honour in the College.

Rivalry Between Departments

The prominence of Arabic Department was never appreciated by most of the teachers in other Departments. When the College decided to reduce its expenses Arabic Department became the worst vicitim. Inspite of Bailley's attempts to keep its identity separate, it was merged with the Department of Persian. Bailley being the highest paid professor in the College was also a target of attack. In a letter dt. 15 June 1803 Gilchrist expressed his unhappiness in respect of his salary and he mentioned Bailley in that context.[18] When the two Departments finally merged, Arabic suffered a little, though not always, because of the tension between the protagonists of the two languages: Arabic and Persian. Several Professors of Persian, particularly Lumsden, were great lovers of Arabic. Lumsden tried to develop the Arabic section but the students were hardly attracted to it and many teachers of Persian certainly lacked his enthusiasm.

Roshan Ali's death was a serious blow to the cause of Arabic in the College. Nizamuddin, another fine scholar of Arabic, had resigned because of his differences with Lumsden. John Leyden took great interest in Arabic but his sudden death in 1811 was also one of the causes of the decline in interest in Arabic studies in the College of Fort William. In 1812 Lumsden proposed that funds will be much better employed in the publication of Arabic than of Persian.[19] But the College Council did not take it seriously obviously because it was realised that students and teachers had very little interest in Arabic at that time. When admirers of Arabic were stressing its importance in the study of Persian as well as of Urdu, Roebuck protested against that on the ground that the knowledge of a classical language was not necessarily useful in studying a modern and living language. It must be remembered, however, that the College never withdrew its patronage to Arabic studies. On the contrary it encouraged several scholars, though on a limited scale.

The inter-linguistic tension was more manifested in the Department of Hindustani. Gilchrist, though very carefully distinguished Hindi from Urdu and recognized the importance of both, had a special fascination for Urdu. He wrote in the preface to *The Oriental Fabulist* that the basis of Hindustani, 'the grand language of India', is 'the old Hinduwe or Braj Bhasha, from

which by the gradual intermixture of Arabic and Persian', a new language, what he called 'Hindoostanee' has been formed. He noticed that Braj, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic—all are in some way related to each other. The relation between Braj and Persian and Arabic is certainly confusing. Most probably he was thinking of borrowed words from Persian and Arabic in Braj. However the Gilchrist period at the College of Fort William must be regarded as the period of ascendency of Urdu over Hindi. It had two effects on the latter generation. Urdu prose got a new impetus and it became possible for the writers to explore a new and natural prose style. An Urdu scholar has observed that the prose of Fort William College was created by men like Mir Amman who had lost everything in the capital of the Mughal Empire and who lived under the British patronage." The learned men of old tradition *i.e. Sukhandanan-i-zi-shoor* whose circles were established in Delhi and Lucknow, had even laughed at it. Thus two distinct styles of Urdu prose were there in the early nineteenth century, and the natural and less ornate style was created at the College of Fort William. And that created a tension between the scholars who helped to standardize Urdu prose style. Mir Amman in the preface to *Bagh-o-Bahar* gave two reasons for adopting a simple style; firstly, that he was writing for the foreigners and secondly, he was trying to develop a language for speakers of Urdu who had been scattered in far off places and exposed to the influence of other languages.[20] Kidwai has defended this style and praised it for its closeness to the spoken language. Writers of Mir Amman's time chose a very ornate or a Persianised style of Urdu, for example, the language of *Tahseen* by Mahammad Ata Khan which is admitted by Urdu scholars as artificial. The Urdu writings at the College of Fort William thus had opened a new avenue for the next generation of writers.

Braj, though introduced by Gilchrist, was not seriously studied by students. The importance of Hindi started to be recognized slowly from 1815 onwards. That year a large number of students from the army took admission in the College to study Hindi. In 1818 Thomas Roebuck, incharge of Hindustani Department, asked for a greater measure of support for Hindi.[21] He recommended strongly, very strongly indeed, for official support for Hindi which he pointed out, was spoken over "a much greater extent

of Country than the whole of the Province of Bengal...". Roebuck's plan, however, was not taken very seriously by the College at that time. When Price became the Professor of Hindustani he tried to eradicate the notions about the relation between Hindi and Urdu prevalent among many scholars of his time and among the members of the College Council. He wrote a long letter on 11 October 1824 to Captain Ruddell, the Secretary of the College Council, pointing out the basic distinctions between Hindi and Urdu.[22] This letter was prompted by the enactment of the Seventh Chapter of the Statutes of the College by the Governor General on 28 October 1824 and thereby rescinding the Statutes XIX and XXI of the Fourth Chapter enacted on 3 June 1814. It said that the students admitted to the College must be competent in Persian and either in Bengali or in Hindi. "The study of Arabic and Sanskrit beyond what may be requisite for a grammatical and accurate knowledge of the languages taught in the College shall be considered optional."[23] Since Price's letter is an important critical document of the early nineteenth century pointing out the difference between Urdu and Hindi, parts of it are quoted here:

> "Much perplexity has arisen with regard to the languages of the upper provinces from a disposition to consider them as distinct from Hindoostanee and from each other, and from not regarding them as a mere modifications of one common form, the construction of which is still essentially the same in all although the words may occasionally vary.
>
> ". . . The predominating influence of foreign terms has so modified the Hindic as to give some of its dialects the appearence of being different languages and scholars highly proficient in the *Oordoo* cannot read a sentence of Braj Bhakha. Ancient caprice, provincial peculiarities and the different proportions in which the dialect of the Pundit or the Munshi—the Muḥammaden prince or Hindu Zamindar—have been intermixed, have multiplied those changes, and give to the Hindee language, an endlessly infinite number of modifications. Amidst all the shades of difference, however, the grammar has remained unaffected. It is still essentially but one, and the highest Oordoo and the lowest Bhakha, observe the same or a very similar system of construction, combination

and terminations. There is no radical difference between *ka, ke, kee* and *kuo, ke, kee*, the terminations of possessive case respectively of Oordoo and the Bhakha *muin maryuo jatoo huon* is much the same as the *miun mara jata hoon* of the Oordoo.

"The slight difference between the Braj Bhasha and the Oordoo just exemplified are mere peculiarities. Corresponding varieties may probably occur in othei provinces but they were less constant and important as the dialects have been less cultivated as most extensively prevalent. However, the preference of form is due to the Hindee, as it appears in what has been termed Hindoostanee. This is the same also which has been called *Khuree Bolee* which and not Braj Bhakha as stated by Dr. Gilchrist is so far the basis of Hindoostanee, that it furnishes the grammar of the latter.

". . . The great difference between Hindee and Hindoostanee consists in the words—those of the former being almost all the Sanskrit and of the latter being for the greater part Persian and Arabic. We may be content to take in proofs a short specimen from thereof Dr. Gilchrist himself has given in his Polyglot Fabulist:

Hindoostanee: ek bar kisee shuhur men yoon shoohrut hooee ki ooske nujdeek ke puhar ko junne ka dard ootha.

Hindee: ek sumue kisee nugur men churcha phuelee ke ooske puros ke puhar ko prusoot ke peer hooee.

"It is unnecessary to point out whence the words in each are derived—the difference might have been even still wider, without isolating the character of either either (*sic*) form.

"Another important difference in the character for Hindee to be correctly expressed, must be written in Nagree letters. The Persian alphabets when applied to any work in which Sanskrit predominates, forming words that are quite unintelligible. . .".

Hindi and Bengali

David Kopf observes that the delay in recognizing the importance of Hindi was due to the absence of an "urbanised

intelligentsia to stress the need to develop it", as well as "a public in a modern sense able or willing to support it as a medium of sophisticated expression. He compares the situation with that of Bengali and comments, "Bengali, on the other hand, nourished itself on the fruits of metropolitan Calcutta and became the vital language of an urban and articulate elite."[24] This observation, though correct, has no relation with the situation of Hindi or Bengali in the College of Fort William. There is no evidence to suggest that there was any link between the urban and articulate elite of the country and the language Departments in the College. In fact the importance of Urdu began to diminish in the College at a time when Urdu speaking elite was quite powerful. Though Bengali was introduced as a language of press and social and religious polemics from 1818, its position had not improved in the College. As early as 1806 Carey wrote "is it not proper to place Bengali teacher on a footing with other teachers in the Hindoostanee and Persian Department"?[25] The College Council considered his proposal sympathetically and forwarded it to the Chief Secretary to the Governor General without any success. Several times Carey had to fight the decisions of the College Council which were certainly detrimental to the Bengali studies. When in 1803 the College Council reduced the salary of Mrityunjay and of Ramnath Vachaspati from Rs 200 to Rs 100 Carey intervened to save them from humiliation. In 1815 again when the College Council wanted to reduce the salary of Mrityunjay[26] Carey wrote that "no reduction of his salary can take place without degrading him so as to defeat the object for which a Chief Pundit is retained in the College."[27]

In 1822 A. Lockett, Secretary to the Council, once again irritated Carey by asking "how far it may be necessary to maintain the Native Bengalee Establishment in the College which under the existing circumstances appears to be excessive".[28] This wounded him so deeply that in his reply of 13 August 1822 he expressed his anguish in very strong terms:[29]

> "Convinced as I am that the Bengalee Language is superior in point of intrinsic merit to every language spoken in India and in point of real utility yields to none. I can never persuade myself to advise a step which would place it in a degraded

point of view in the College. While therefore a first and second Pundit are retained in the Persian and Hindoostanee Departments, I must consider them equally necessary in this."

Carey's reference to Persian and Hindustani Departments in this letter is quite significant. Professors of Persian and of Urdu were reluctant to yield a place of honour to Hindi not to speak of Bengali, and the College Council never took any serious interest in Bengali though that Department was one of the most active in the College.

If Hindi received some attention in the College since 1824 it was primarily because a large number of soldiers were recruited from the Hindi speaking area. Rudell in a letter dt. 24 September 1824 observed that *Braj Bhasha* under different names such as *Khari Boli*, *Thent*, *Hindi Hindi* etc., was current all over India and "particularly among the Rajput tribes of Jypore, Odypore and Kota and it is besides the common language of all those classes of Hindoos which furnish soldiers for our own army and native armies of the Eastern Provinces".[30] In fact, utility of a particular language in terms of British administrative and military interest was the sole criterion of its importance in the College. Hindi started receiving more attention because of the change in the British attitude towards the Muslim elite and consequently towards Urdu, the language of the Muslim elite. When soldiers began to be recruited in large number from Rajasthan and Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, the importance of Hindi began to be felt Ruddell became so awaie of the importance of Hindi that he suggested that only pundits to be appointed in future who would be qualified to teach Hindi and Bengali both. He very rightly observed that the Bengali pronunciation of Hindi would be "unintelligible to the natives of the Upper Provinces" but he did not realise that the Bengali pronunciation of the pundits of the Upper provinces would be equally unintelligible to the natives of Bengal. There were pundits in the Bengali Establishment who were not acquainted with the Devanagari writing system and they were promptly dismissed. In January 1825 Carey was informed that a knowledge of Braj had been made a test of qualification for giving instruction in Bengali. Carey considered it his "duty to protest" against this measure as, he thought, "it must necessarily

operate to the exclusion of the most popular persons from the office and to the admission of those whose other qualifications are very slender".[31] He objected to this decision and pointed out the basic difference in the pronounciation of Hindi and Bengali. He wrote:

"Braj is a small province on the banks of the Jumna, the existence of which is unknown to many of the pundits of Bengal. They must therefore be almost universally unacquainted with its language, and were they acquainted with it, I do not know how that knowledge could qualify them for giving instruction in Bengalee. It has not greater affinity to Sanskrit than the language spoken in other provinces of Hindoostan, and if it had still it could not be substituted for Sanskrit or be of any use to Pundits well acquainted with that parent language.

"It appears to me absolutely necessary that all who give instruction in the Bengalee language should be natives of Bengal and able to pronounce the language clearly and correctly, but scarcely one in five hundred of the natives of other parts of Hindoostan can pronounce it with (*illegible*) tolerable accuracy. Natives of the northern or western provinces universally leave out the last syllable of words ending in the short *a* for instance the words *Muta*, *Guta*, *Huta*, *Suta*, *Tuta* are pronounced as *Mut*, *Gut*, *Hut*, *Sut*, *Tut* and the same may be said of multitudes of similar words. In the Bengalee Language the inherent vowel is constantly pronounced after a compound letter, but natives of those provinces constantly omit it as in the words Bungsh*a*, Hungs*a*, Hings*a* and all similar words which they pronounce Buns, Huns, Hins etc. and finally break the compound letter by introducing a short *a* between the members which compose it, as in Dhurma Kurma, Rukta, Shukta etc., pronounced by them Dhurum, Kurum, Rukut, Shukut etc. Those and a great number of other irregularities and inaccuracies of which I never knew a native of other provinces of Hindoostan entirely break himself, give the language when spoken by them such a foreign air, that it is as difficult to catch the sounds as it is to catch English sound when the language is spoken by a German."

Carey wanted that he should be consulted about the qualifica-

tions of the pundits and none be admitted in the Bengali establishment without his approval. He maintained that same persons could not teach both Bengali and Hindi and separate establishments for the two languages were "absolutely necessary". The College Council conceded to this proposal.[32]

Marathi, Oriya, Panjabi and Dravidian Languages

William Carey took great interest in several Indian languages though primarily he was associated with the teaching programmes of Bengali, Marathi and Sanskrit. He wrote grammars of Marathi, Punjabi, Telugu, and Kannada apart from those of Bengali and Sanskrit. The dictionaries of Oriya and Marathi were prepared by Mohan Prasad Thakur and William Carey respectively. The first reference to the Marathi teacher is found in the Proceedings of the College Council in a letter dated 23 January 1804. Carey recommended one Vaidyanath who was well acquainted with Bengali and Hindi and had some knowledge of Sanskrit too. He was formerly a pandit of J.K. Lovett and helped Carey in translating the Bible into Marathi. He was appointed at a monthly salarly of Rs 100/- in 1804.[33] Next year he translated the *Pratapaditya Charitra* from Bengali into Marathi, for which he was rewarded Rs. 300/-.[34] Most probably he helped Carey in preparing the grammar as well as the dictionary of Marathi.

Oriya was probably taught for some time in the College though nothing can be said very definitely. There is a reference to one Purushakama (Purushottama?) who taught Oriya for a short period and also wrote a grammar of that language though it is not known whether that was printed later.[35]

From the records it is known that one teacher each for Telugu and Kannada was appointed and there were at least two teachers of Tamil. Tamil teachers were Appo and Mariadasan.[36] A Telugu pandit Hari Rama was appointed some time before 1808 but he was removed according to the advice of Carey, and Sadar Sharma was appointed in his place on 7 November 1810.[37] A dictionary of Telugu was published around 1811-12 by Wooridia Pandit for which he was rewarded.[38] We also know that two teachers—Sudarshana and Bharat Ramana—were teaching Telugu and Kannada respectively around 1815. Both of them

were discharged towards the last week of February 1816. In 1801 one Bowary Rao worked as a teacher of Kannada. And that is all we know about teaching of Dravidian languages in the College.

Though Panjabi was not included in the teaching programme there was a native of the Panjab among the munshis in the Department of Hindustani. He was Kashi Ray (Raj ?). He translated the *Hindi Story Teller* into Panjabi[39] for which he was awarded Rs 100. We are not sure if this Kashi Raj was the same person who was an eye-witness of the battle of Panipat between Sadashiva Rao and Ahmad Shah Abdali. That Kashi Raj was in the services of Nawab Suja-al-Daallah of Oudh. Kashi Ray of the College of Fort William most probably translated the *Gulistan* into Panjabi at the instance of W. Hunter.[40] He prepared a grammar of Panjabi which is the first grammar of that language. It was never printed and the manuscript is now lost. From Leyden's comment on this grammar we know that it was based on the dialect of Multan.[41]

About other works on Panjabi, we know that Leyden himself prepared a grammar which, too, was never published. One Fakir compiled a *Manjke* vocabulary which attracted the notice of Leyden who praised it highly. It contained "an equal proportion of Sikh Panjabi of Dugger and of Khasha." Hunter started compiling a collection of proverbs in Arabic, Persian, Hindi and Panjabi[42] but this interesting project remained incomplete. The only other work in Panjabi done in the College, except those of Carey's, was the translation of Gilchrist's Hindustani and Persian inflections by one Dyapooree Gosain (Dayapuri Gosain).[43]

William Carey, who wrote a grammar of Panjabi, had a keen interest in that language. From his letter of 29 October 1806 we know that he prepared a compendium of the content of the first ninety-two hymns of the *Adi Granth*.[44] He was assisted by one Ajnaram, a learned Sikh, who on Carey's recommendation received a present of five gold mohurs.[45] Carey did not write anything on Sikhism but on the evidence of his detailed summary of the ninety-two hymns of the *Adi Granth* he must be considered as one of the first European students of Sikhism. He read the *Adi Granth* thoroughly and wrote an abstract. "I have . . .been under the necessity", he wrote, "of having the whole examined to form (the) abstract".[46] His brief note on the book

is not of any critical interest except that it contains his observation that the book "had been written by several hands". A specimen of Carey's description of the contents of the *Adi Granth* is given below:

> (*i*) Celebration of the praises of God, considered as devoid of (the three) qualities. (*ii*) Celebration of the praises of God considered as possessing of qualities. (*iii*) Commendations of God's Commandments. (*iv*) The kind of fruit arising from the service of God. (*v*) Commendation of a disciple. (*vi*) Commendation of true preceptor. (*vii*) Discommendation of actions contrary to God. (*viii*) Commendation to a person devoted to God. (*ix*) The praises of learning. (*x*) The praises of attention. (*xi*) The commendation of truth, contentment, compassion, justice and investigation. (*xii*) The fruits arising from truth.

Carey's interest in the *Adi Granth* was certainly more than merely linguistic, but it is unfortunate that we do not have any account of his studies in the Sikhism.

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5. See the bibliography prepared by Marshall, B.N., *Mughals in India*, I, Bombay, 1967, which contains names of several manuscripts useful in historical research written in Arabic, Persian and other Indian languages during the Mughal rule. Also see Ahmad, M.G. Zubaid, *Contribution of India to Arabic Literature* (Jullundur 1946) and Iswariprasad, *History of Medieval India* (Allahabad 1928), p. 499.
6. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, tr. Lowe (Calcutta 1924), II, p. 316.
7. Varshneya (1964), p. 250.
8. Chatterji (1960), pp. 161-71.
9. *Appendix*, p. xxii.
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13. For a detailed account of the language situation in Calcutta *see* Clark (1956) and Das (1962).
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35. *Ibid.*, p. 352.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
37. HM 561., p. 397.
38. HM 562., p. 335.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
41. HM 561., pp. 476-7.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 463.
43. HM 562., p. 249.
44. HM 569., p. 193.
45. HM 560., p. 199.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

CHAPTER FOUR

Language Teaching

The most important activity in the College of Fort William was teaching Indian languages to Englishmen. There is no written account of the methods practised in the College. It is unlikely that there was any uniform method followed by all teachers, Most of the British teachers learnt Oriental languages through their associations with native speakers and later they tried to formulate the grammatical rules for a better understanding of the languages. In this chapter we will try to present several problems faced by the British teachers in teaching India languages as well as the ideas that guided them to evolve a sound teaching method.

TRANSLITERATION

It was necessary for the teachers as well as the students of Indian languages to evolve a system of transliteration to use Indian words and pharses in the English system of writing for several reasons. In 1784 Sir William Jones in his essay entitled *A Dissertation on the Orthography of Asiatic Words in Roman Letters* (1884) pointed out that "every men who has occasion to compose tracts on Asiatic Literature, or to translate from the Asiatic language, must always find it convenient, and sometimes necessary, to express *Arabian*, *Indian* and *Persian* words, or sentences, in the characters generally used among European; and almost every writer in those circumstance has a method of notation peculiar to himself; but none has yet appeared invariably by one appropiated symbol, conformably to the

natural order of articulation, and with a due regard to the primitive power of the *Roman* alphabet, which modern *Europe* has in general adoped."[1] The system of transliteration in the Roman alphabet was also useful in introducing an Indian language to the beginners without any reference to the particular script used for that language. The teachers at the College of Fort William were quite conscious about the usefulness of the system of transliteration though they found the models of Halhed-Wilkins, and of William Jones were not adequate for their purpose.

Jones criticised the Halhed system for its 'use of double letters for the long vowels' and the 'frequent intermixture of italic and Roman letters in the same word'. He also disapproved of the Wilkins system because of its use of double letters for *i* and *u* and 'of common prosodical marks to ascertain their brevity or their length'. Jones suggested a method which could avoid double letters and mixture of italics and Roman, and the prosodic notations could be replaced by acute accent marks. But his system, too, lacked uniformity. He was not consistent in his notation for aspirated letters in Indo-Aryan languages. For example, in the velar and palatal series of letters in Devanagari he used an apostrophe and *h* to denote aspiration. For क he uses *c* and for ख uses *c'h* but for भ he uses *bh* though *b'h* was expected. Halhed's notation was certainly unsatisfactory and Wilkins system was very cumbrous and difficult to write. Jones's system was by and large accepted by the early Orientalists in India. Both Colebrooke and Carey followed Jones and Halhed respectively with slight modification as shown in the following table. Identical symbols used in all the four systems are not shown in the table. All the four systems used g, j, t, d, p, b, bh, m, r, l, s and sh for ग, ज, त, द, प, ब, भ, म, र, ल, स, ष respectively.

N	B	H	W	J	Co	Ca
अ	অ	o̲/u	a	a	a	o̲/u
आ	আ	aa	ā	a´	á	aa
इ	ই	e̲e̲	ee	i	i	e̲e̲
ई	ঈ	ee	ēē	i	í	ee
उ	উ	o̲o̲	oo	u	u	o̲o̲
ऊ	ঊ	oo	ōō	u	ú	oo
ए	এ	a	ē	e	é	a
ऐ	ঐ	i	aee	ai	ai	i
ओ	ও	o	ō	o	o	o
औ	ঔ	ou	āōō	au	au	ou
क	ক	k	k	c	c	k
ख	খ	k,h	kh	c´h	c´h	k,h
घ	ঘ	g,h	gh	g´h	g´h	g,h
च	চ	c	ch	ch	ch	c
छ	ছ	c,h	chh	ch´h	ch´h	c,h
झ	ঝ	j,h	jh	j´h	j´h	j,h
ट	ট	t	t	ʻt	ʻt	t
ठ	ঠ	t,h	th	ʻt´h	ʻt´h	t,h
ड	ড	d	d	ʻd	ʻd	d
ढ	ঢ	d,h	dh	ʻd´h	ʻd´h	d,h
थ	থ	t,h	th	t´h	t´h	t,h
ध	ধ	d,h	dh	d´h	d´h	d,h
फ	ফ	p,h	ph	p´h	p´h	p,h
ङ	ঙ	ng	n	ṅ	ṅ	ng
ञ	ঞ	gn	n	ny	ny	gn
ण/न	ণ/ন	n	n	ń/n	ń/n	n
य	য	j	y	y	y	j
व	ব	w	v	v	v	w
श	শ	sh	s	ś	ś	sh.

N-Nogri, B-Bengali, H-Halhed, W-Wilkins, J-Jones, Co-Colebrooke, Ca-Carey;

It is clear that Jones' notation is supperior to other notations in many respectes. He distinguished the dental and the retroflex series which neither Halhed nor Wilkins did. He also clearly distinguished the nasals and the sibilants. Halhed used the same symbols for palatals and the retroflex sibilants. Halhed made an interesting innovation by using *u* instead of *o*, by which he translitered the first vowel of the Bengali/Nagari alphabet before a velar nasal, *ng* and *o* elsewhere. This was accepted by Carey. Jones' system though widely accepted by the teachers at the College of Fort William, Gilchrist was not happy with it and he devised his own system which was an improvement over Jones' in certain respect but it created new problems. He successfully avoided the apostrophe marks to denote the aspirated consonants and used a *h* only and thus regularised the whole series e.g. ख kh, घ gh, छ chh, झ jh, थ th, ध dh etc. He also distinguished the flapped consoants from the rolled ones e.g. ड़ ṛ ढ़ ṛh and र r. The sibilants were also clearly distinguished by using a dot beneath the letters to denote the retroflex and an acute accent to denote the palatal. But in transliteration of vowels Jones provided a simpler system.

Gilchrist wanted to develop a comprehensive system of Romanisation of Perso-Arabic and Devanagari system of writing. In his *The Oriental Fabulist* (1803) he used a system of transliteration for Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Urdu, Hindi and Bengali (illustration II, *Appendix*). Later he made some improvements on that system and made a simpler scheme of Romanisation. That scheme was neatly presented by Roebuck in his *Annals of the College of Fort William* (1819) which is reproduced in this book (see illustration VII).

Methods of Language Learning

Gilchrist wrote in the introduction to *The Oriental Fabulist* that "there are two modes of beginning to learn a language, the theoretical and practical, but in my opinion, each has its peculiar advantages. Men advanced in life, who have many other persuits, and at the same time are general grammarians, ought at once to have recourse to practice, and from it revert to the theory of the language, with much less trouble, than they otherwise could do. On the contrary young people, or those who are

not versed in the Principles of General Grammar, should invariably commence with the elemantary rules and finish with practice."[2] This view is quite interesting in our understanding of the method followed by the teachers of Hindustani in the College. According to Gilchrist a prior knowledge of Grammar is necessary in learning any language. It is evident that he believed in some kind of universal grammar underlying all the languages of the world. Of course, this was not his own theory but he was repeating what Boethius, Priscian and Peter Helias—the grammarians of the medieval Europe—postulated long ago and which was accepted all over Europe till the emergence of the modern linguists. Gilchrist, therefore, naturally imposed the categories he found in Latin grammar on which grammars of all European languages were based at that time.

It seems that Gilchrist used to instruct his students the basic feature of a given language in terms of Latin or English grammar which certainly helped them to realise the distinctiveness of that language. And once the student became familiar with the peculiarities of that language it was easier for him to overcome the difficulties he might face in course of his studies. It must not be assumed, however, that Gilchrist as well as other teachers emphasized only on a grammatical training. They were very much aware of the importance of the role of native teachers in language learning process. Gilchrist and Carey and several others learnt the Indian languages mostly through direct method. They travelled in the various parts of the country and lived with native speakers who had no knowledge of English. At times teachers were sent to the language area for a thorough command over the colloquial speech (in 1810, for instance, the College eucouraged A. Lockett to go to Arabia for one year)[3]. Some of the British students used to hire private munshis for instruction and in the College the native teachers, very few of them knew English, used to help them to improve their pronunciation and fluency of speech. From a letter written by the teachers of Bengali and Sanskrit dt. 28 February 1827 some interesting information are available. At that time teachers were interviewed by British Professors for appointments in the posts of Munshis. The Brahmins who had some smattering of English were rejected by Carey but they started teaching some of the students privately. The regular native teachers complained against them and the

matter when placed before Carey, he made the following observation in a note dt. 6 March 1827:

> "The two men complained of by the Pundits were several years ago examined by me and that their names were recorded as persons unacquianted with the Sunskrit language an acquaintance with which I consider to be of great importance and which the College Council thought so necessary as to determine that none acquainted with it could be considered competent to giving instruction in Bengali. The circumstance of their having a smattering of English is rather a disadvantage than otherwise, as the vanity of imitating English composition, almost invariably leads them to adopt a similar phraseology which is diametrically opposed to the proper formation of Bengali sentences. I therefore think the retaining of them would be highly impropper and that the circumstance of a student retaining either of them at his own expence should not supersede the attention of the Pundit regularly appointed by the College."

It is clear that Carey found his Bengali assistants' unfamiliarity with English was not disadvantegous for the teaching of Bengali. He wanted his students to learn Bengali without any reference to English. In modern terminology he was keen to avoid translation-method.

Knowledge of Classical Languages

While Carey insisted on the awareness of the difference between English and Indian languages in respect of their syntactic patterns, the College was certainly following a wrong policy by insisting on the knowledge of Sanskrit and Persian essential for Bengali or Hindi. Roebuck condemend this attitude very strongly in 1818. He wrote "the most learned pundits of Sanskrit could not write a letter in their,mother tongue nearly so well as a common *kayuth*, and that a very learned Maulavec who generally despise any language but Arabic cannot write a Persian letter with the same eloquence that a Moonshee can do."[1] Though this statement is somewhat exaggerated it contained some truth. Carey's insistence on Sanskrit for the Bengali students and teachers did not produce happy results. The Bengali writings of the British students show

Institution in any other age or country exhibit a scene so interesting as this"?[7]

Inspite of the shortcomings in the methods of language-teaching, if judged by modern standards, the College of Fort William succeeded in creating interest in the Indian languages among a section of of the British students. It is lauditory indeed, that some of the students acquired such command over Indian languages that they ventured to translate some of the European classics. Monkton and Sergent, for example, translated *The Tempest* and *The Aeneid* respectively into Bengali. The teaching of Indian languages necessitated the production of text books, grammars and dictionaries in many languages which had none. And that was the greatest benefit that Indian languages could derive from the experiments of the language departments of the College.

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6. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
7. See *Primitiae Orientales*, Vol. III., (1804), p. 115.

CHAPTER FIVE

Publications

The College of Fort Willlam published about 132 books most of which were pedagogical in nature though quite a few were meant for the general reader. Some of the teachers edited important manuscripts and prepared new editions of old and reputed grammars and lexicons. The College encouraged very liberally indeed in editing manuscripts and producing prose works particularly in the modern Indian languages. For several languages there was hardly any suitable text book or grammar or dictionary. For the older languages like Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian the problem was solved by editing the extant grammars and dictionaries and collecting anthologies. But for the modern Indian languages such books had to be prepared. British professors encouraged native scholars to produce works of prose including tales and fables and historical narratives, while they themselves started preparing grammars, lexicons and works on rhetoric, and translated books on law, history, etc. into English for the benefit of the students as well as the administrators.

GRAMMARS AND LEXICONS

The following chart indicates how seriously the College encouraged the preparation and publication of grammars and lexicons in various languages.

Language	*Grammar*			*Lexicon*			
	Old		New	Old		New	
	Ed.	Tr.		M	B	M	B
Arabic	1	1	2	2	2	—	—
Persian	—	—	3	1	—	—	—
Sanskrit	3	—	3	2	—	—	1
Urdu	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
Braj	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Bengali	—	—	1	—	—	1	1
Marathi	—	—	1	—	—	1	—
Oriya	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Panjabi	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Telugu	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Kannada	—	—	1	—	—	—	—

M=monolingual B=bilingual. Ed.=edited. Tr. translated.
Numerals stand for number of books.

John Ballie, Professor of Arabic, wrote his *Arabic Syntax* probably in 1801. It was an elementary work though useful for the students. About twelve years later Lumsden published *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (1813) which contained a more adequate description of the language. Baillie did not write any comprehensive grammar of Arabic but he edited the traditional grammars in three volumes. They were *Miut Amil, Shurhu Miut Amil and Misbah* (1802), *Hidyu-tun-Nuha* (1803) and *Kafiyu* of Iban Hajib in 1805. These five famous Arabic grammars were carefully edited by Baillie with the help of the most authoritative manuscripts available in India at that time. In 1814 A. Lockett translated *Miut Amil* and *Shurhu Miut Amil* into English with an elaborate and useful introduction. These works deal mainly with the syntax of Arabic.

The Indian scholars did not lag behind. They prepared *Shumsul Laughat* (1806), a bilingual dictionary of Arabic and Persian words. and later, another lexicon entitled *Muntu khub ul Lughat* (1808), a dictionary based on traditional Arabic dictionaries with a Persian translation. It was revised by Maulavi Allah Dad and his colleagues. In 1815 the munshis of the College revised another famous lexicon, the *Shuhah*, which was published in two volumes. The most respectable of all Arabic lexicons was, however, *Qamus* which means an 'ocean'.

The manuscript of this lexicon was prepared by Mujuddin Mohammad Obnu Yakub of Firozabad and revised and corrected by Sheikh Ahmad, an Arab scholar.

The teachers of Arabic gave more importance to the traditional grammars and lexicons but the Persian teachers were more interested in preparing new works. Gladwin wrote two elementary grammars of Persian around 1802. His *Persian Guide*, as the title suggests, was an elementary book. His *Persian Munshi*, too, was a work of similar standard. The first scholarly work on this subject was produced by Lumsden in 1810. His *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, like his Arabic grammar, remained a standard work for a long time.

In 1818 *Boorhani Qatiu*, a Persian dictionary, was published by T. Roebuck with the help of his Indian colleagues. This book was originally prepared by Mohammad Husen Ibni Khalif-ut-Tubreezee. A short grammatical sketch of Persian was prefixed to this book.

The College published three famous Sanskrit grammars: *Mugdhabodh* (1807), *Astadhyayi* (1809) under the title *The Grammatical Sutras or Aphorism of Panini*, and *Siddhanta Kaumudi* (1812). Apart from these traditional grammars, both Colebrooke and Carey wrote one grammar each which were published in 1805 and 1806 respectively. In 1807 the Sanskrit establishment published *Hemachandra Kosha*, a lexicon, which was followed by the *Amarakosha*, *Medini* and *Haravali*. Few years later H.H. Wilson's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1815-18), an immensely valuable work, was published.

Gilchrist presented systematic grammatical description of Urdu in his several works including *The Strangers' East India Guide to the Hindustanee* (1802) and the *Hindi Dictionary* (1802). An important dictionary of Urdu was published in 1808 by W. Hunter. That lexicon was originally compiled by Captain Joseph Taylor for his private use. Hunter revised it and included more vocables to make it more comprehensive. Maulavi Amanatullah wrote *Surfi Urdu* (1810), a grammar of Urdu, in verse obviously as a mnemonic aid for the students. In 1811 Roebuck published *An English and Hindi Naval Dictionary*.

From the list of books published by the College it is known that a book entitled *General Principles of Inflection and Conjugation in Braj Bhasha* was published in 1811. This book is not

extant in any library and no account of this work is available. William Price compiled all the words occuring in the *Prem Sagar* of Lallujilal in 1814.

We have already mentioned that William Carey wrote grammars of Bengali, Marathi, Telugu, Kannada and Punjabi. He also prepared dictionaries of Bengali (1815) and of Marathi (1805). Mohan Prasad Thakur prepared an Oriya dictionary in 1812. All these works, inspite of their many deficiencies, served as models for the native scholars for many years to come.

Text Books

The teachers of the College of Fort William were primarily interested in prose work though verse was not altogether neglected. Books on law and religion were translated and/or edited from the older languages for scholarly interest, but tales, stories etc. were adapted and translated from these languages into modern languages mainly to be used in class room. The following chart will give some idea about the kind of writings compiled and published by the college.

Language	*Subject*						
	Verse	*Tales*	*History*	*Biography*	*Letters*	*Dialogues*	*Proverbs*
Arabic	2	3	1	—	1	—	—
Persian	3	2	1	—	—	—	—
Sanskrit	6	1	—	—	—	—	—
Urdu	4	13	1	—	—	1	1
Braj	4	3	—	—	—	—	1
Bengali	2	6	1	2	1	1	—
Marathi	—	1	—	2	1	—	—

The poems published in various languages were not exclusively intended for the class room. *Deewan-ool-Mootubube* (1814) and *Quseedu* (1818)—two books of Arabic poems—were published at a time when there was hardly any student of Arabic in the College. *Nufhutool Yumun* (1811) and *Hudeequt-ool-Ufrah* or the *Garden of Pleasure* (1813) were collections of prose as well as verse. But even those books were meant mainly for lovers of Arabic literature and were rarely used by the students. In the Persian Department, however, there was always a considerable number of students

and teachers interested in Persian poetry. In 1804 students debated on the subject whether the poems of Hafiz were to be understood in a figurative or mystical sense. Lumsden, Atkinson and Leyden—all of them were great lovers of Persian poetry and they did a great service for the popularization of Persian literature in Europe. Persian poetry had already made an impact on the poetry-reading public in England thanks to the efforts of Jones and Fitzerald. The scholars at the College of Fort William, therefore, could not think of a teaching programme of Persian where poetry had no place. Between 1809 and 1811 six volumes of *Miscellaneous Works of Prose and Verse* were published by the Persian Department which included sections from Persian classics such as *Gulistan*, *Bustan*, *Diwani Sundi* and *Sikander Namah*. In 1811 the *Shahnamah*, the most celebrated work of Persian literature, was published by the College. The *Sikandar Namah*, a short epic by Nizami, was published next year and in 1814 James Atkinson translated the *Shurab*.

The Sanskrit Department published a prose translation of the *Ramayana* (I, 1806, II, 1808; III, 1810) in three volumes. It was translated by William Carey and Joshua Marshman of the Serampore Mission. The *Bhagavat Gita* (1809), and *Gitagovindam* (1808), which were already greatly aclaimed in Europe, were also published by the College. Kalidasa's *Meghadutam* was translated by H.H. Wilson into English in 1813. Other Sanskrit poetical works published by the College were *Naladay* (1814), *Magha Kavya*, (1815) and *Kiratarjuniyam* (1815).

The Hindustani Department published *Baghi Urdu* (1802), a translation of the *Gulistan* by Mir Ali Afsos, and *Hidayat-ul-Islam* (1804), translation from Arabic and also editions of Hindi poems, *Satsai* of Biharilal (1809) and *Ramcharit Manas* (1811) of Tulsidas. Hindi Department also published some original compositions of its members. Mirza Kazim Ali Juvan, for instance, wrote a description of different seasons in verse which was published in 1812 under the title *Barah Masha*. In 1810 Mohammad Aslam compiled a book of poems written by Mir Soz for the exclusive use in the class. Lallujilal translated the *Hitopadesh* under the title *Rajniti* (1809).

While the Departments of Persian and Hindustani gave some emphasis on verse, the Bengali establisment did not attach much importance to verse literature. The College, however, encouraged

the Serampore Mission Press when it printed the Bengali version of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* in 1802, William Carey encouraged the Bengali pandits to prepare prose texts of various kinds. Quite a number of books were prepared which contained stories and fables. In fact, books of tales and fables were published by other departments also. For Arabic and Persian and Sanskrit, there was hardly any problem to find good tales. *Musamat Hurceree* (Vol. i., 1809; Vol. ii., 1812), *Alef Laila* (Vol.i. 1814; Vol.ii, 1818) in Arabic, *Hatem Tai* (1818) in Persian and *Hitapadesh* (1806) in Sanskrit were prescribed as text books. But for Hindi and Bengali no prose text was readily available. There was a rich oral tradition of story telling in some of the modern languages but those stories were never committed to writing. Therefore, while preparing books of tales in these languages the munshis had to translate stories from older languages and they also exploited the oral literature, as it will be evident from the following chart.

Language	*Source*			
	Sanskrit	*Persian*	*English*	*Oral Tradition*
Marathi	Sinhusan Butteesee			
Bengali	Batris Singhasan	Tota Itihas	Oriental Fabulist	Itihasmala
				Probodh Chandrika (some stories)
	Hitopadesh			
Urdu/ Hindi	Betal Pachisi	Tota Kahini	do	Gulibakawali
		Bagh o Bahar		Naqliyati Hindi
	Ukhlaqi Hindi			Lutifi Hindi

Stories collected from the oral tradition are extremely interesting if only because they represent an idependent stream of literature as opposed to the stream of sophisticated and written liturature. There are many anecdotes and stories in the *Prabodh Chandrika*, for example, which cannot be traced in Sanskrit. They must have been collected by Mrityunjay Vidyalamkar from native sources. Similarly the tales included in *Itihasmala*, or *Naqliyati Hindi* came from the oral literature. These works, therefore, deserve special attention as initial attempts of studying folk literature in India.

Like folk literature, historical literature in many Indian languages had its beginnings in the College of Fort William. Mrityunjay wrote *Rajabali* (1807), a history of India since the time of Buddha upto the battle of Plassey. Mir Sher Ali Afsos' *Arish-i-Muhfil* (1808), a history of Hindu kings, was propably inspired by Mrityunjay's work. Ramram Basu and Rajiblochan Mukherji prepared biographies of Patapaditya, a powerful land-lord of the sixteenth century of Bengal, and of Krishna Chandra, the king of Krishnanagar, respectively. Ramram Basu's work entiled *Pratapaditya Charitra* (1801) was the first historical narrative in Bengali. It was translated into Marathi in 1816. Both *Pratapaditya Charitra* and the biography of Krishna Chandra, though a mixture of facts and fictions, are important in the history of Bengali literature as early specimens of historical narrative. The College of Fort William encouraged historical writings in other languages also. Vaidyanath Pandit published the genealogy of Raghunath Bhosla in 1816, and Sheikh Ahmad revised and edited a history of Tamarlaine, originally written by Ahmad Bin Mohammed of Damascas in Arabic. The Persian Department's publication *Kitabool Junayat-ohudood* (1813) is a translation of *Futaveel Alumgeeree* by Quzi-ul-kuzat of Calcutta.

Quite a few collections of letters and dialogues were published by the College. Though they were primarily intended for the students, some of them contain valuable information about the contemporary society. Gilchrist realised the importance of plain and useful dialogues for the beginners in Hindustani and he incorporated such dialogues in his *The Oriental Linguist* (1796). Later he published a booklet devoted to similar dialogues. Carey's *Kathopakathan* or *Dialogues* (1801) though modelled on a similar pattern is more than a text book. It is, in fact, one of the most interesting books in Bengali in the early nineteenth century. It is a collection of lively and racy dialogues between different groups of people each distinct by their social status and occupation and linguistic behaviour. I think the first few dialogues between an Englishmen and his servants were written by Carey in English and later they were translated into Bengali, most probably by Ramram Basu, and other dialogues were written by his Bengali colleagues, probably by Mrityunjay Vidyalamkar. This is the first significant attempt to study Bengali styles of

speeches and class or occupational dialects, and to relate them with the socical status of the speaker. This work is yet to receive proper attention from the linguists and sociologists intcrested in the nineteenth century Bengal.[1]

The art of letter writing in oriental languages was taught in the College. Sheikh Ahmad and several others wrote few model letters in Arabic which were published under the title *Ul-Ujub-ool-oojab* (1813) with an introduction to the art of letter writing. Eleven years earlier Ramram Basu prepared a book *Lipimala* (1802), a collection of Bengali letters, all of them written by the author. That was used as a text book for Bengali. In 1816 Carey himself compiled a collection of original letters written in Marathi.

LEARNED WORKS

The College of Fort William, as it is evident from its publication programme, had a tension between its immediate objective which was to impart instruction in Indian languages and its cherished ambition to play a significant role in the process of dissemination of Oriental learning in Europe. It produced text books and grammars and lexicons for the use of the students, but it encouraged its teachers to prepare editions of many works which had no immediate pedagogical value. The following chart will show that the College did not confine its interest only in classical literary works but extended its interest in other fields as well.

Language	*Subject*					
	Travel	*Rhetoric*	*Law*	*Religion*	*Logic*	*Science*
Arabic	—	1	—	1	1	—
Persian	1	1	2	1	—	2
Sanskrit	—	—	6	—	—	—
Urdu	—	—	—	3	—	—
Hindi	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bengali	—	—	—	1	—	—

One book of travel, *Museeri Talibee* (1813), written by Mirza Aby Talib Khan, who visited Europe in 1795, was published by the College. This work was translated into English by Captain Stewart. The College published two books on Rhetoric.

Jalalauddin Mohammad's *Ul Mookhtuusur*, comprising the text of *Tulkheesool*, an authoritative account on the subject of Rhetoric in the Arabic language, in 1813, and a Persian work entitled *Haqiik-ool-Bulaghut* (The Bower of Eloquence) written by Mir Samsuddin Faqir of Delhi next year.

Persian Department prepared two works on Law, both translations from Arabic: *Hidayu* (Vol. I. and II, 1807; Vol. III and IV, 1808), a compendium of Islamic Law, edited by Maulavi Mohammad Rashid, and *Sirajeeyu*, a translation of laws of succession and inheritence from Arabic published in 1811. Six books on laws were published from the Sanskrit Department between the years 1812 and 1818: *Mitaksara* of Yajnavalkya (1812), *Manu Samhita* and *Dayabhaga* of Jimutavahana (1813) and *Dattaka Mimansa* and *Dattaka Chandrika* (1817), and P.M. Wynch's translation of *Dayakrama Samgraha* into English (1818).

Few religious texts were also published by the College. In 1809 Arabic Establishment published *Mishkatool Musabeeh*, a collection of traditions relating to the teachings and actions of the Prophet in two volumes in Arabic which were later translated into English by Captain A. Mathews of the Bengal Artillery. Persian Department published an interesting work *Dubistani Muzahib* dealing with various religions of the world written by Sheikh Muhammad Mahasin in 1809. Religious books published from the Hindustani Department consisted of translations of the *New Testament* (1805) and *Hidayut-ul-Islam* (1804), a collection of prayers in Arabic, and *Gooli Mughfirut* (1812) an ecclesiastical history. *Hidayut-ul-Islam* was prepared by Gilchrist. He had plans to publish another volume of prayers which, however, did not materialise.

A book on logic known as *Qootbee* written by Qutubuddin was published in 1815 at the instance of Lumsden who himself revised the original Arabic work. In 1807 Maulavi Abdul Khair under the superintendence of W. Hunter translated *Mujmooue Shumsee*, a book on Copernican system of Astronomy, from Arabic into Persian. Five years later Maulavi Roshan Ali translated *Khoolasut-ool-Hisab* (1812), an Arabic work on arithmatic and geometry, written by a Syriac scholar, into Persian. It was revised by Tarini Charan Mitra, Jan Ali and several others.

Anthologies

Four anthologies, two in Arabic and one each in Persian and Urdu, were published by the College. The anthology of Persian prose and verse was published is six volumes between 1809 and 1811. Sheikh Ahmad Bin Mohammad and others compiled an Arabic miscellany of prose and verse which was published in 1811 under the title *Nufhutool Yumun*. Two years later Sheikh Ahmad compiled *Hudeequt-ool-Ufrah* (The Garden of Pleasure), a collection of prose and poems, mostly biographical, written by various Arab authors. The Urdu authology emerged out of certain administrative and financial problems.

On 12 January 1802 Gilchrist informed the College Council that he had started printing several books stated below and asked for financial help.[2]

Title	*Estimated Cost*	*Condition*
1. Miskins Elegy	Rs. 343	complete
2. Buttesee Singhasan	Rs. 4500	30 pages
3. Sakoontala	Rs. 3000	24 pages
4. Ukhlaqi Hind	Rs. 4500	begun
5. Madhwanut	Rs. 3000	not begun
6. Betal Puchesee	Rs. 8500	do
7. Meer Husun	Rs. 5000	30 pages
8. Char Darvish	Rs. 8800	58 pages
9. Goolistan	Rs. 8500	begun
10. Totakahenee	Rs. 5500	do
11. Goolshun	Rs. 3000	not begun

The College asked Gilchrist, in view of a large expenditure involved in the printing of these books, that no expenses to be incurred till further order. Gilchrist appealed saying that "the Hindoostanee is in fact still in the embryonic stage and never can grow to maturity if fettered with too rigid economy and preliminary forms at its very birth..."[3] The College Council requested him to send a selection of books for the purposes specified in a resolution.[4] That made Gilchrist extremely angry but the College Council persuaded him to make a selection incorporating some materials which had been already printed

and also including other matters which were thought necessary. To encourage him the College recommended to the Governor General that 100 copies of each of the book—*Char Darvish* or *Goolistan* or any other book if printed by subscription-might be purchased. This is the main reason how the Urdu anthology emerged finally. This Collection entitled *Hindi Manual* (1802) contained sections of *Ukhlaqi Hind* of Mir Bahadur Husian, *Mursia* of Mir Abdallah Miskan, *Singhasun Butteesee* of Mirza Kazim Ali and also of *Shakoontala*, and *Totakahenee*, etc.[5]

Notes and References

1. For more detail information see Das, Sisirkumar, *Early Bengali Prose* (1966), Chap III.
2. HM 559., p. 45f.
3. *Ibid.*, Letter dt. 20 January 1802.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-54.
5. For the complete list of publications of the College of Fort William see Appendix E.

CHAPTER SIX

Printing

The impact of the publications of the College of Fort William on the Indian reader was not very consequential. Most of these books were hardly read outside the College and few books which gained some popularity as text books were soon forgotten. It must be conceded, however, that these publications had an indirect impact on the Indian academic life. Indians became aware of the inadequacies of text books and the School Book Society was established in 181o primarily to meet the growing need for well written text books. Books published by the College also made the Indian writers aware of the stylistic problems and thus of the necessity for standardization of prose style. One of the most imortant contribution of these publications, though an indirect one, was to the development of printing in Indian languages.

Although first types of an Indian script, which is Tamil, were made by Joan Gonsalves, a Spaniard, used in *Deutrina Christa* in 1578, printing in Indian languages began extensively in Bengal. Priolkar has given the credit to the Jesuits of Goa and Tranquevar which they rightly deserve, but points out that "when one takes into account the volume and variety of the achievements of the Serampore Mission in the field, printing in India could be said to have its origin at Serampore".[1] The printing of Indian languages, however, started in Calcutta even before the establishment of the Serampore Mission. It was Charles Wilkins who with the help of Panchanan,[2] an inhabitant of Triveni in Hugli, cut the Bengali types for the first time and used them in the Bengali grammar of Halhed published in 1778. These types

though generally believed to be made in wood were actually in metal.[3] This great achievment of Wilkins was applauded by all lovers of Oriental learning in his time. One John Collegins eulogised him in the following verse:

> See patient Wilkins to the world unfold
> Whate'er discovered Sanskrit relics hold
> But he performed a yet more noble part
> He gave to Asia typographic art.[4]

Charles Wilkins (1750-1836) was a nephew of the British printer and engraver Robert B. Way. He came to India as a writer in 1770 and started learning Sanskrit around 1778 at the instance of his friend N.B. Halhed. Seven years later when his translation of the *Gita* was published Warren Hastings introduced him in the following words: "This gentleman to whose ingenuity, unaided by models for immitation and by artists for his direction, your government is indebted for its printing office and for many official purposes to which it has been profitably applied, with an extent unknown in Europe has united to an early and successful attainment of the Persian and Bengal languages, the study of Sanskrit." It should be remembered that with his translation of the *Gita* in 1785 and *Hitopadesha* in 1787 the Orientalist movement in Europe received a tremendous momentum. Wilkins' labours and talents, however, were immediately recognized. Government not only decided to take all the copies of Halhed's grammar but paid a gratuity of Rs 30/ for each copy to Wilkins and when the Government established a printing press, which is the first printing press established by the British Government in India—he became its chief. In November 1778 Wilkins made a proposal to print a large number of Government publications and the proposal was favourably considered. He was the first man to propose the establishment of a Government Press. It was not supported by the Board at the time of the proposal but Governor General himself brought that proposal again in December 1778. When the printing press was finally established Wilkins was appointed at a salary of Rs 350/- per month.

Along with Wilkins, Panchanan's contribution must be gratefully remembered. It is through his help Wilkins succeeded in the task which could not be accomplished by such experienced engraver

as Joseph Jackson. Panchanan worked with Wilkins in the Government Press and later with Colebrooke.[5] He went to Serampore in the early months of 1800. There is an ancedote, though entirely baseless, that Carey persuaded Panchanan to come to Serampore when he was at the service of Colebrooke at Garden Reach. Colebrooke complained about this matter to the authorities of the Company and there was some correspondence between the Company and Governor Bea of Serampore.

In 1798 George Woodney brought a printing machine in Calcutta and presented it to Carey who started a press at that time. William Ward, who had some previous experience of printed and editing, was appointed the superintendent of the press and of the type foundry. Panchanan was a great acquisition to this newly founded press. Marshman wrote "by his (*i.e.* Panchanan's) assistance we erected a letter-foundry, and although he is dead now, he had so full communicated his art to a number of others, that they carry forward the work of type casting, and even of cutting the matrices with a degree of accuracy which would not disgrace European artists".[6] Panchanan died two or three years after he joined the Serampore Mission Press. He cut the Bengali types of difierent size with great accuracy retaining their beauty. When he cut the Devanagari types Marshman described them as "most beautiful of the kind in India". We cannot go into the details of the growth and development of the Serampore Mission Press. It is suffice to say that within ten years after its establishment it grew into the greatest printing press in the East and certainly the biggest press for the oriental languges in the whole world. The relation between this press and the College of Fort William became intimate mainly through the association of William Carey. A large number of books written by the scholars at the College were printed by the Serampore Mission Press. Carey appointed several good scribes in different languages. The Bengali letters, for example, were engraved on the basis of the sample prepared by Kali Kumar Ray, the Bengali Copyist of the College. Panchanan taught the art of cutting types to Manohar who later became his son-in-law. Marshman described Manohar as "an expert and elegant workman who was subsequently employed for forty years at the Serampore Press and to whose exertions and instructions Bengal is indebted for the various beautiful founts of the Bengalee, Nagree, Persian, Arabic and

other characters which have been gradually introduced into the different printing establishments."[7]

The Serampore Mission Press between 1801 and 1830 printed books in about fifty languages in which at least twenty different scripts were used. The major languages handled by the Serampore Press were Arabic, Armenian, Assamese, Bengali, Burmese, Chinese, English, Gujrati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Khasi, Marathi, Maldivian, Nepali, Persian, Panjabi, Pushtu, Javanese, Oriya, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Sinhalese, Tamil, Telugu etc. Some of the publications of. the College of Fort William printed at the Serampore Mission Press are given below:

1. *Dialogues*, W. Carey, 1801.
2. *A Grammar of the Bengalee Languages*. W. Carey, 1801.
3. *Raja Pratapaditya Charitra*, Ramram Basu, 1801.
4. *Batrish Sinhasan*. Mrityunjay Vidyalamkar, 1802.
5. *Hitopadesha*, Goloknath Basu, 1802.
6. *Lipimala*, Ramram Basu, 1802.
7. *Ramayana*, (Bengali), 1802.
8. *A Grammar of the Marhatta Languages*, W. Carey, 1805.
9. *Sinhasana Battisi* (Marathi), Vaidyanath Sharma, 1812.
10. *A Grammar of the Sungskrit Language*, W. Carey, 1804.
11. *Amarakosha*, ed. H.T. Colebrooke, 1807.
12. *A Grammar of the Telinga Language*, W. Carey, 1812.

In these publications both Bengali and Devanagari scripts were successfully employed. According to some scholar the grammar of Marathi published in 1805 was the first Marathi publication printed in Devanagri.[8] The scripts of several other Indian languages, such as Gurumukhi, Oriya and Gujrati were also employed in some publications of the Serampore Press.

The Hindoostanee Press and the Perso-Arabic Script

Gilchrist made certain innovations in the printing of Perso-Arabic scripts. In 1802 Gilchrist wrote to College Council[9], "as the types and printing materials which Mr. Gladwin presented to College are probably the best now to be procured, I request you will state to College my wish to take charge of, and employ them for the good of my department here, in the works I am

about to publish in the Hindoostanee language". He promised to return them whenever demanded. The College Council agreed to this proposal and that was the beginning of the Hindoostanee Press. At that time there were several presses in Calcutta, most important of which were the Chronicle Press (where Gilchrist's *Grammar of the Hindoostanee Language* was printed), the Stuart and Copper (Gilchrist's Dictionary of English and Hindoostanee was printed here), Ferris and Greenway (*The Oriental Linguist* was printed here) and the Hurkaru Press (which printed *The Oriental Fabulist*), the Times Press, and the Ferris and Co. and so on. Gilchrist's Hindoostanee Press was a great step towards the printing of Perso-Arabic script in particular. Gilchrist tried to make certain modifications in the *nastalik* types. A *nastalik* type was first made by Wilkins and they were "so perfect a state in point of beauty, as hardly to improvement". Gilchrist, however, made the following improvements:

1. Contrivances to discriminate the various sounds of the letter *alif*, *wan* and *ya*.
2. Marks whereby letters in the Persian alphabet are made to represent certain sounds in the Nagari which have no corresponding character in Persian.
3. Marks of punctuations were introduced for the first time in Indian writing system.
4. Certain diacritics were used in the Devanagari scripts to represent those sounds in Arabic and Persian which have no corresponding letters in Devanagari.

On 20 June 1803 Gilchrist wrote to the College Council claiming that he had made 'important improvements' in Oriental typography 'on the European principle of separating words by spaces and joining the letters of each vocable, as much as possible'.[10] The Hindoostanee Press of Gilchrist worked in close co-operation with the College of Fort William and helped the attempts to improve the printing of Arabic and Persian and Urdu. The Hindoostanee Press printed the following important work prepared by the College of Fort William: *The Stranger's East India Guide* (1802) by Gilchrist, *Sarfi Urdu* (1810) by Maulavi Amanatullah, *Baghi Urdu* (1802) by Mir Ali Afsos, *Magha Kavya* (1815), and *Dattaka Mimansa* (1817).

Gilchrist's innovations, however, though praiseworthy, were still not satisfactory to Lumsden. In 1805 he presented a plan for improving the existing typography in Persian and also for the establishment of a press.[11] He wanted to construct a new set of Persian types by the best artist that could be procured in Calcutta under the direction of Sheikh Kutb Ali, the Persian writing Master at the College. He pointed out that the "letters of the Persian alphabet are joined together in such a manner as to render the frequent use of Logographic types indispensibly necessary to the accurate execution of any literary work that may be printed in the Persian character".[12] The College Council accepted the proposal of Lumsden and granted funds for the construction of new types though it is not known whether the College considered the proposal for the establishment of another press.

The Sanskrit Press and the College

The Sanskrit Press was established by Baburam Sharma, an inhabitant of Mirzapur, U. P., most probably in 1807 mainly to print books in Devanagari script. Baburam Sharma printed the following publications of the College: *Bhagavat Gita* (1809), *Gita Govinda* (1808), *Satsai* of Biharilal (1809), *Tulsi Ramayana* (1811), *Manusamhita* (1813), *Mitaksara* (1813), *Dayabhaga*, and *Sabha Vilas* (1814). In 1808 the College subscribed for one hundred copies of each of its publication. During the Seventh Annual Public Disputation Minto in his address mentioned this Press and its relation with the College. "A printing press has been established by learned Hindoos", he said "furnished with complete founts of improved Nagree types of different sizes, for the printing of books in the Sunskrit language. This press has been encouraged by the College to undertake an edition of the best Sunskrit Dictionaries, and a compilation of the Sunskrit rules of Grammar. It may be hoped that the introduction of the art of printing among the Hindoos which has been thus begun by the institution of a Sunskrit Press will promote the diffusion of knowledge among this numerous and very ancient people."[11]

Lallujilal was associated with this press and later he became its proprieter. Brajendranath Banerji conjectures that he became its proprietor around 1814-15. Without disclosing his source of

information he also states that Lallujilal took the printing machine to Agra where he spent the rest of his life.

General Quality of the Printing

If judged by the norms of modern printing technology, the quality of printing in those presses including the Hindoostanee Press, Sanskrit Press and also the Serampore Mission Press cannot be praised too highly. But one must remember that they were pioneers and they had to work under very difficult circumstances. The goal of the early printers and engravers was mainly to achieve legibility and readability. The faces prepared by Panchanan and later by Manohar were perfectly legible. It was not possible for them to make experiments with various types which could be very expensive. The faces were generally large and the readability suffered to some extent because of the size of the types. But the strokes of each letter were arranged with great skill so as to create a rhythm of arrangement. When faces of Bengali types used in Halhed's grammar are compared with those used in the books printed by the Serampore Press one notices several improvements in respect of accuracy of letters as well as of their legibility. For example the type representing the character as well as the sound *ku* in the *Ramayana* of the Serampore Mission Press, is more distinct and accurate and, therefore much better than the *ku* used in Halhed. Similarly there were improvements in the conjunct characters, very common in Bengali and Devanagari, for example, the conjunct character *-hm-* as in the word *Brahmun.* In the Serampore publications they are more distinct than they were in Halhed. Marked improvements were made towards the growth of kerns *i.e.* the part of the face of type-cast letter that projects beyond the body, *e.g.* some of the vowel letters in the middle and final position of a word in Bengali and Devanagari.

Remarkable improvements were made in the printing of Perso-Arabic scripts also. In fact more experiments were made in the printing of Persian and Urdu than in other languages. Even a cursory glance at the title page of *Bagh o Bahar* or *Ukhlaqe Hindi* would convince any one that the types were beautifully engraved when judged individually, though the texture of the whole page was not very elegant. In fact that was the major limitation of the early printing. The texture comes out of

a totality—the proper setting, adequate spacing, uniformity of types, balanced distribution of ink and so on. The strokes of individual graphs in Perso-Arabic script were in many cases thin and delicate which brought out the intrinsic loveliness of that script to a great extent. In case of Bengali and more particularly of Devanagari, the faces were often not very pleasant. Some parts of the strokes were very thick and they presented a wooden and static look in contrast with the flowing quality of Perso-Arabic scripts.

Printing and Punctuation

The most important impact of printing on the writing system of Indian languages was the introduction of the Western system of punctuation. The immediate effect was two-fold: inserting spaces between two words, and arranging the lines of verse according to the Western system as opposed to the Indian practice of writing which did not distinguish between the style of writing verse and that of prose. Another major innovation was the development of paragraph. The idea of indent as a typographical technique to make a series of sentences separate from other series of sentences either preceeding or following, was new in Indian writing system. It is not suggested, however, that the punctuation system is a mechanical development from the process of printing. It is guided by the principles of grammar, rhetoric and logic. But the initial impulse came from the necessity for printing books in Indian languages.

Notes and References

1. Priolkar (1958), p. 70.
2. Chattopadhyay, Sabita (1972), pp. 141-43.
3. Das, Sajanikanta (1962), pp. 30-31. For more information about the early Bengali printing see Sri Pantha, *Yakhan Chapakhana Elo.* (1977) pp. 6-12.
4. *Bengal Past and Present*, XXIX, 1925 (January-June), pp. 214-15.
5. *Ibid.*, XXII, pt. 1, July-September, 1916, p. 140.
6. Quoted by Smith, *The Life of William Carey*, p. 181.
7. Marshman, I, p. 179.
8. Khan (1962), p. 110.
9. HM 559., p. 57. Letter dt. 30.1.1802.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 255-6.
11. HM 560., pp. 45-6. Letter dt. 20.9.1805.
12. *Ibid.*
13. HM 561., also Roebuck, p. 155.
14. Banerji: *op. cit.* I, Gangakishore Bhattacharya, p. 8.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Library of the College

The story of the College of Fort William will remain incomplete without a reference to its libary and its contribution towards the growth of public library in Bengal. The material on the subject, however. is extremely meagre. The little information that could be collected from various sources, mainly from the letters written to the College Council by the teachers of the College and from the speeches of the visitor, are presented here. The library of the College was established towards the end of 1800. David Brown, the Provost of the College, issued a notice on 15 November 1800 in the *Calcutta Gazette* asking for donation from the public. It read as follows:

> The Public library (of the College) being now founded, the names of any persons who may think fit to make donations of Books to the College will be recorded in a Register to be kept of the names of the benefactors to to the Institution.

From a letter of A. Lockett who was the Librarian of the College Library in 1818, it is known that "the library was first founded by voluntary contribution for the use of the students and then placed under the immediate charge of the Provost and afterwards in May 1805 under the secretary with one native assistant and two Duffteries,."[1] The names of persons who donated books to the library are not known. But the library had acquired books from several individuals, and also from the huge collection of Tipu Sultan which was brougnt to Calcutta in

1799. This collection containing large number of valuable manuscripts was lying unused until Charles Stewart, took charge of preparing a catalogue. Stewart asked a salary of Rs 300/- per month for this work since his term as an assistant Professor of Persian had ended at that time.[2] Within a few years the library acquired a large number of valuable books most of which belonged to Tipu Sultan.

During the Public Disputation in 1806 the Governor General observed "I notice with particular satisfaction the extensive and valuable collection of books which now enriches the library of the College of Fort William". He encouraged the printing of useful and interesting documents from this collection.[3] During the preparation of a descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts found in Tipu Sultan's collection Stewart discovered a valuable work in the Persian language, a history of the time of Aurangzeb written by Mahammad Saki.[4] If the College could keep this collection permanently in its library, its Arabic and Persian Departments could have used it more intensively and the College could bring out more prestigious publications. But in a despatch of 5 June 1805 the Court of Directors made a proposal for establishing a library of Oriental manuscripts in London.[5] It wanted that "all works remarkable for the fineness and variety of the writing and splendour of their illumination" in the collection of Tipu Sultan should be sent home.

The depletion of the College library led the College Council to consider a proposal to acquire new books and manuscripts. Accordingly the Secretary was asked to establish correspondance through native agents for the purchase of manuscripts in different parts of India.

Collection of Manuscripts

Since 1804 the College Council started showing interest in collecting manuscripts. The College records show that Francis Buchanan collected valuable manuscripts in Telugu, Kannada and in several other languages from Mysore. He went to Cochin to examine some ancient Hebrew manuscripts preserved in a synagogue there.[6] He requested the Rajah of Tanjore for a list of books in his library and the Rajah was willing to donate those manuscripts to the College of Fort William which had

duplicate copies. He also agreed to lend many original manuscripts for transcription. However, it is not known whether the College actually borrowed those manuscripts and made duplicate copies. Buchanan found few volumes of the Vedas but he did not make any use of them as he apprehended that 'the Brahmins would object' to their removal from the library.[7] It is quite likely that a considerable number of manuscripts preserved at the College of Fort William came from the library of Tanjore.

In 1839 Lumsden prepared a list of manuscripts in Arabic on various subjects for the library to procure them.[8] It is not unlikely that some of those manuscripts were purchased by the College. By 1818 the number of printed books in the library rose to 8341. There were books on various subjects including history, travels law, divinity, grammar, classical and Biblical and Oriental literature. The manuscripts acquired were also of various kinds. The following chart shows a subject-wise classification of these manuscripts as well as there numbers.[9]

Copies of the Quran	55
Commentaries on the Quran	48
Writings on the Islamic tradition	122
Divinity	213
Metaphysics	340
Grammar	107
Rhetoric	37
Logic	33
Philosophy	35
Poetry	345
Commentaries on Poetry	26
Stories	100
History (in Arabic)	135
History (in Persian)	218
Islamic Law	163
Mathematics	42
Dictionaries	60
Medicine	100
Hindi manuscripts	150
Manuscripts in Turkish, Pushtu and Panjabi	14
Manuscripts in Sanskrit	647
	2990

According to the College-records the total number of manuscripts in the library was 2994. But the figures, shown above, which are also collected from the College-records add up to 2990. Among the total number of printed books in the library 3566 were text books. Total number of books and manuscripts in the library, therefore, was 11,331 according to our calculation, though according to Lockett it was 11,335, Hindi, Sanskrit, Turkish, Pushtu and Panjabi manuscripts have been shown separately in the above list. The rest of the manuscripts were, perhaps written in Arabic and Persian, though some of them could be in Bengali and in other Indian languages, particularly in the Dravidian languages.

Apart from these manuscripts available in the College Library, many teachers had their own library of manuscripts. Bailley, Leyden and Atkinson had good private libraries which are now scattered in different places. In the thirties of the nineteenth century the Library acquired about 74 Nepali manuscripts and 53 Tibetan manuscripts.[10] On 21 December 1824 Carey informed the College that one Mr. Hodgen of the Civil Service at Katmandu had collected a large number of books on religion and literature of the inhabitants of the Himalyan range and the countries of the contiguous area. Carey suggested that he should be approached so that some of the manuscripts could be bought by the College. The College Council took prompt steps to buy some of the volumes.[11] Price, Professor of Hindi, asked the College Council[12] about a Hindi manuscript containing the legend of Gora and Badal and Padmini. That manuscript was eventually presented to the College library by one Mr. Wellesely of Indore. Price also emphasied on the desirability of acquiring various manuscripts of the Vedas but there is no information whether the library could collect Vedic manuscripts at all.

From the above facts it is clear that the library of the College of Fort William was sufficiently rich so far as the quantity and the quality of manuscripts were concerned. Lockett proudly declared that in number of manuscripts the College Library was superior to Escorial in Spain which had 1851 volumes of Arabic and Persian manuscripts, and to Bodelean which had only 1561 copies of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian manuscripts at that time.

PRIVATE DONATIONS

There is hardly any record containing the names of individuals who donated books and manuscripts to the College library. It is quite likely that some of the teachers must have presented books and manuscripts from their private collections. The Governor General in his speech during the Public Disputation in 1806 requested individuals who had in their possesstion valuable manuscripts to deposit them in the library. It is possible that some individuals had responded to his request. Many Indian intellectuals used to present their books to the College, *e.g.* Radha Kanta Dev presented his *Shabdakalpadruma* in March 1849.[13] Many scholars who expected subvention to their publications also used to present their works to the College library. The library possessed a fine collection of books on Greek and Latin and several modern European languages, many of which came from the British officials living in India.

LIBRARY ADMINISTRATION

The Library of the College had two sections: European and Oriental. The Chief Librarian was inevitably an European. There was one native librarian for the Oriental section at a salary of Rs 40/- per month. The Oriental section had one native assistant at the monthly of Rs 20/-. Two duffteries were appointed to look after the books at a monthly salary of Rs 14/-. The European section, too, had an assistant. Mohan Prasad Thakur, a very learned man and an able librarian, was appointed in the European section in October 1807. He prepared an Oriya-Bengali Dictionary in 1811 and a Vocabulary of Bengali in 1810. In 1816 he published a selection of tales.[14] We do not know of any other Indian working in the College library before him. When he left the College in 1818 Mr. Ward was recommended for the post of the Assistant Librarian of the European section.

Roebuck mentions that Munshi Gulam Hyder was appointed Assistant Librarian in the Oriental section of the library in September 1801. The College records, however, do not show any such name. There was one Gulam Hyder who was appointed on 1 May, 1844 in the Hindustani esablishment but certainly the librarian Gulam Hyder was a different man. In the absence of any other record Roebuck's statement must be honoured. Most

probably this Gulam Hyder worked for ten years till Maulavi Karimuddin was appointed in his place on 1 October 1811. He was succeeded by Husain Ali and later by Torab Ali. Maulavi Ikram Ali, an excellent scholar of Persian and Urdu, was appointed to that post in 1816.

The library faced all kinds of problems similar to those faced by the libraries in India today. Stealing of books was as common as it is today. In late 1807 the College had to restrict the users from taking away books from the library.[15] In 1818 the number of printed books in the library was more then eight thousand but in 1835 the number of books was just two thousand inspite of a strong vigilance. The major problem of the library was, however, financial. The College Council was eager to collect books and manuscripts, but it had to restrain itself because of stringent measures adopted since 1806. It could not even appoint assistants at certain stages of the growth of the library. In 1835 a part of the library consisting of Oriental books was transferred to the Asiatic Society. That year a committee was appointed to look into the problems of acquiring books for the proposed Public Library in Calcutta.[16] This committee applied to the Government to allow the subscribers to the Public Library to use the library of the College. It is known from their report that the College library had 1,912 volumes at that time. But within five years that College Library was completely transferrred leaving few text books only. In 1853 the library contained only 55 books in Bengali.[17] It did not even possess all the books published by the College. Some of the books which originally belonged to the College library are still preserved in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, the National Library, Calcutta and in the National Archives, Delhi.

Notes and References

1. HM 565., pp. 143-46, Letter dt. 26 September 1818.
2. HM 560., p. 10, also pp. 24-5.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
4. Seton-Karr, ed. *Selection from the Calcutta Gazette*, III, p. 491.
5. HM 560., pp. 131-3.
6. Seton-Karr, *op. cit.*, p. 491.
7. HM 560., pp. 186-7. Letter from Buchanan dt. 1 Sept. 1806.
8. HM 561., p. 141.

9. Letter of Lockett dt. 26.9.1818, HM 565.
10. HM 569., pp. 348-50.
11. HM 568., p. 14.
12. HM 567., pp. 455-57.
13. HM 575., p. 628.
14. Banerji, B., *Sahitya Sadhak Charitmala*, I, xiv.
15. HM 561.
16. See Ohdedar, A.K., (1966), Appendix, xiv. pp. 251-2. See also pp. 70-79. for more information about the Library of the College of Fort William.
17. HM 577., pp. 595-6.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Abolition of the College

During the first six years of its life, notwithstanding its struggle for existence, the College took up several ambitious projects and executed some of them with considerable success. From 1807, however, it had to function under great financial strain. When the College Council received the order from the Court of Directors in December 1806 to reduce its size it appealed to the Governer General for some concessions. For example it requested the Governer General to use his power for the continuation of the office of the Provost. They were informed that the Governer General was not at liberty to authorize the continuance of that office. The College Council estimated that an annual expense of Rs 150,000 for the College was absolutely necessary and the Governer General in Council recommeneded that to the Court of Directors.

Since the posts of the Provost and the Vice-Provost were abolished it was decided that the College Council should have a President. H.T. Colebrooke became the first President of the College Council. Other members of the Council were Harrington, Edmonstone and T. Tembelle. Willian Hunter who was appointed Secretary of the Council on 1 November 1806 was asked to continue. On January 1, 1807 the College had three Professors (Bailley, Professor of Arabic and Persian, Captain Mouat, Professor of Hindustani and William Carey, Professor of Sanskrit and Bengali), two Examiners, (Lumsden and Macdougal), and one Librarian. There was a more radical change in the Native Establishment. For Arabic there was only one Munshi. For Persian there were sixteen munshis, twelve of them appointed at

a salary of 40 rupees per month, and one each at the salary of Rs 200/-, Rs 100/-, Rs 80/- and Rs 60/- per momth. Hindustani Department had the same situation except that it retained a Bhakha Munshi and a *Nagari* writing Master at a salary of Rs 50/- per month. For Bengali and Sanskrit there were one Writing Master (at the salary of Rs 40/-), two Munshis (at the salary of Rs. 30/-), one Munshi (at the salary of Rs 40/-) and one each in the scale of Rs 200/-, Rs 100/- and Rs 80/- per month.

The massacre at Vellore in 1806 created a furore in England and attempts were made to implicate the Christian missionaries in the incident. Even before the Vellore incident there was some disturbance in the College in 1804 when Gilchrist proposed a theme for the Public Disputation that "The Natives of India would embrace the Gospel as soon as they were able to compare the Christain Precepts with those of their own books". The Bengali pandits, most of whom were orthodox Brahmins, strongly resented to such a subject and they were supported by several Muslim teachers. J.C. Marshman in his *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward* (1) has given a detailed account of the incident which led the Brahmins to protest and Gilchrist to change the theme of the disputation. After the Vellore incident the College Council took a fresh look into the possibility of any religious problem with which the College might be implicated. The Statutes of 1801 were repealed by Sir George Burlow on 12 February 1807. The principal change was that all references to the College chapel and of compulsory attendance were ommitted. The students, however, ordered to attend the Divine service.

The first phase of the life of the College which belonged directly to the patronage of Wellesely came to an end in 1806. Wellesely returned to England in early months of 1806. Burlow took over the administration till Ist Earl of Minto was appointed Governer General of India. Minto had a great fascination for Oriental learning but the injury inflicted on the college was already too deep.

Gradual Decline

The diminishing importance of the College inadvertently encouraged indscipline among the students, majority of whom

was unwilling to accept the rigours of academic life. In 1812 the College Council received an extract of a letter dt. 14 January 1812 from the Court of Directors addressed to the Governer General about the declining standard of the College. The Court of Directors rejected all proposals for increasing the number of posts of teachers in the College and in fact threatened that if the situation and moral conduct of the students were as bad as they had been informed then there could be no other "effectual remedy than the total abolition of the establishment".[1]

The students of the College were easy victims of local money lenders and it was a serious problem for the College to handle. Wellesely arranged to give handsome allowance to the students to enable them to live in comfort. But he, too, could not eradicate the evil altogether. Apart from borrowing money from local money lenders, some students indulged in many other social and moral vices. The Court of Directors had been watching the situation for a long time with indignation and disgust. This communication, therefore, was strong enough to cause anxiety among the teachers of the College and they rose as one man to defend the continuance of the College with all seriousness.

Carey admitted that there had been a decline in the standard of the College but he claimed that it "did not affect the standard of fitness for the Public services".[2] Lumsden wrote rather bitterly that "the utility of the College has never yet been fully acknowledged by the authorities at home and its permanence has been always a matter of doubt. It seems to have been hitherto considered as an experimental Institution to be approved or condemned according to circumstances and as it was at first begun on too extensive a scale the successive retrenchments effected by order of the Honourable Court of Directors have been assumed by many (though certainly on no justifiable grounds) as arguments from which to infer its ultimate abolition...The students or at least the idler parts of them are not likely to respect an Institution which they believe to be tolerated rather than cherished by the highest authorities and of which they anticipate the downfal (*sic*) from year to year."[3] Taylor, Lockett and Roebuck also sent their observations and all of them pleaded for the continuance of the College. The Court of Directors considered their notes sympathetically and the College continued to function.

The Court of Directors, however, always considered the College

as a financial liability. During the period between 1807 and 1812 several objections came from the Court in respect of the expenditure of the College. On 9 May 1815 the Court again ordered for the abolition of the posts of Assistant Professors. The College Council pleaded for their retention in view of the fact that there had been a steady flow of students from the army and the number of teachers was inadequate. The Governor General in council restricted the number of students from the army to ten and ordered that their duration of stay in the College should not exceed one year. By another order from the Court on 13 September 1815 the posts of Examiners were abolished in May 1816—which saved about Rs 800 per month—and publication expenses were limited to twenty thousand rupees per year.

In 1820, again, the Court of Directors asked the College to reduce its number of teachers. It was desired that there should not be more than six teachers for Persian and Hindustani, four for Bengali and one translator for Hindustani. The College Council had to obey this order with some minor adjustments. It stopped admission of all students from the military service, and cancelled all publication programmes. The College published 47 books during 1801-07, 73 books during 1808-14, 20 during 1815-20, and only one book during the next twenty-six years.

Eight years later, H. T.Princep, Secretary to the Government, sent a letter dt. 12 June 1828 to the President of the College Council[4] along with a copy of Public General letter from the Court of Directors dt. 19 December 1827.[5] During all these years the College was faced with serious financial problems. Indiscipline among a section of students continued unabated and teachers were feeling terribly frustrated. The Court of Directors had the information that about half of the thirty-three young men in the College were involved in debt and the aggregate debt amounted to 14,73,500 rupees. The Court of Directors found no other alternative but to take a very serious measure to cope with that situation. The relevant parts of that letter are quoted below:

13. "It is an opinion concurred in by you and by the College Council by all those indeed whose sentiments have called for on this occasion Public officers of the greatest experience and on whose judgment we can most fully rely,

that the Grand cause of an evil so completely without a parallel is to be traced to the residence of our civil servants at Calcutta during the time of their attendence at the Colleges. Surely if the residence at Calcutta is not attended with some extraordinary advantage no other way attainable this is a consequence of it, the danger of which ought not to be incurred. . . .

19. "You will observe that our opinion respecting the utility of the College does not in any degree proceed from any diminution of our solicitude on the subject of Education. On no point are we more anxious that the youngmen who dare to fill the important offices under your Government should be properly educated. Other means may without difficulty be provided for supplying them with instruction in the languages of India, the sole purpose for which the college at Calcutta is now supposed and it is our wish that a greater not a less degree of attention than heretofore should be showed upon this object. . . . . .

21. "The appropriate and only effectual security for the requisite diligence on the part of the youngmen in acquiring the languages necessary for the performance of the duties to which they may be assigned is to render a certain degree of proficiency an indispensable preliminary to an appointment to the emoluments of active service. This measure has been successfully adopted under the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and we think that it ought to be universal. . .

22. "It would be easy enough to form a Committee of Examiners at the Presidency on which prefect reliances might be placed. . .

23 "Upon the whole we find ourselves compelled to convey to you our opinion that the disadvantages above enumerated more than counterbalance the benefits of the Calcutta College, and that it is expedient to take measures for the discontinuance of that Institution. . ."

All teachers and members of the College Council were greatly shocked at this decision and reacted sharply. H. Shakespeare, A. Sterling and W.H. Macnaughton—three members of the College Council jointly wrote a letter on 7 August 1828 to W.C.

Bentinck, the Governer General, protesting against decision of the Court of Directors.[6] They observed, "We do not consider that under the existing system of management a residence within its walls for a period of from eight to twelve months if ordinarily, and in the large majority of instances, the effect of engendering habits of disputation and extravangances and of involving the students consequent in pecuniary difficulties, and believing it to be quite impossible to substitute any more efficacious or less objectionable mode of disposing of the junior Civil servants on their first arrival in India. We concur unanimously in depreciating the proposed abolition of the College as a measure which we cannot but apprehend, would be fraught with serious detriment to the general character of the service, and the best interests of the state," In an accompanying note[7] Shakespeare further argued that the possibility of extravagance and of being involved in debt was not less in the country than in Calcutta. He wonderd how could the College be made responsible for that mischief. "Were no debts incurred", he asked, "by Civil Servants before 1800 and was no native influence in play?" He recalled the 'sound and statesman like views of Wellesely but it was too futile an attempt to impress the Governor General. In a separate note,[8] Sterling, too, pleaded for the retention of the College which he described as the "seat of learning endowed for the cultivation of Eastern literature and dissemination of knowledge through out our Indian Empire". He pointed out that number of students in Bengali was steadily increasing during the last three year (there were 16,31 and 34 students during the years 1826, 1827 and 1828 respectively); and that Hindi, 'the most difficult of the vernacular languages of Hindoostan' was being extensively persued. About the system of instruction at Madras and Bombay he observed "the Madras system appears to me to possess most of the evils, with few of the advantages of that of Calcutta." Macnaughton in his minute[9] echoed the sentiments of Shakespeare and referred to the dedicated service of the scholars associated with the College and the noble design of its illustrious founder. He thought the proposal of sending the civil servants to different stations in the interior of the country to stop extravagance was unsound as that would encourage them to visit Calcutta "on some frivolous pretext and without permission".

Among the Professors, William Carey who was the oldest member of the faculty, wrote "I am at a loss to know how an alternative arrangment for instruction could be made".[10] Price and Ouseley strongly defended the College and protested against the "unjust" strictures against the College. Bentinck did not want to make any observation in haste. His secretary informed the College Council in September that year the Governor General was considering the whole matter[11] and he wanted suggestions from the College Council of specific measures before coming to any final decision. The College Council sent suggestions accompanied by minutes from each member.[12]

The Decision

On 23 February 1830 H. M. Parker, acting Secretary to the Government, informed the College Council that the Government had decided to discontinue the Professorships in the College altogether along with the situations of Munshis attached to Professors and to confine its establishment of the College for the future to a Secretary and two Examiners with a specific number of Munshis for the instruction of the students.[13] In view of the long service of the Professors it was suggested that they could be chosen as Examiners.

On 4 May 1830, the day on which the College completed its thirty years of existence, the Governor General in Council resolved that "from the 1st proximo the three Professorships of the College of Fort William shall be abolished and lectures to the students to be discontinued".[14]

Carey who was seventy years old at that time received a pension of Rs 500/- and Captain Price was appointed Examiner. Karim Husen, Tarini Charan Mitra and Ram Kumar of the Departments of Persian, Hindustani and Bengali respectively were given one hundred rupees pension. Abdur Rahim, Nazarullah and Badar Ali—all of them were Munshis in the Persian Department—received pensions of rupees thirty-three, fifty and forty respectively, Pensions were also given to Mir Bakshis Ali (rupees fifty), Martuza Khan (rupees forty)—both from Persian Department—and to Gadadhar (rupees fifty) of Bengali establishment. The edifice which Wellesely built thirty years ago was finally crumbled to dust.

who still recognized the utility of learning Indian languages, realised for certain that the College had already outlived its usefulness. Rosselli observes that "if he kept the College in being it was partly because of his 'old prepossessions....strongly in favour' of Wellesely's foundation. But he did not think young civilians could properly study and be examined in the vernaculars away from Government supervision in Calcutta. What really worried him was the cost of the Indian tax-payer—£ 600 for each student of maintaining youngmen some of whom stayed on for years, steadily failing their examinations."

When Ruddell resigned on 12 January 1832 Lt. Todd became the next Secretary. But he died on 20 March 1832 and Ousley succeeded him. In 1838 G. T. Marshall was appointed as Secretary. He served the institution till 1852. During his tenure Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891), a great scholar and social reformer, worked in the College as a teacher of Bengali and Hindi. In 1841 Madhusudan Tarkalamkar, a native of Ahmadpur village in Burdwan, who was the *seristadar* of Bengali (since 1830 the post of Chief Munshi was renamed *seristadar*), died. Madhusudan was a man of 'varied acquirements'. Marshall praised him for his knowledge of Sanskrit, Benrali and Hindi.[17] Marshall was looking for an erudite scholar of Madhusudan's stature. Vidyasagar was already well known in the academic circle and according to Marshall he acquired a 'moderate knowledge of English'. On his recommendation Vidyasagar was appointed the *seristadar* at a monthly salary of Rs 50/-. Vidyasagar worked in the College from 20 December 1841 to 3 April 1846. When he left the College his brother Dinabandhu was appointed in his place. At that time there were only ten teachers in the College.

Persian	*Hindi*	*Bengali*
Mahammad Ismail	Ghulam Hyder	Dinabandhu[18]
Taj Mahammad	Tuffuzzul Husen	Radhakanta
Rajchandra Datta	Ganganarayan	Kalidas
		Madhusudan

Vidyasagar came back to the College again in 1849 (23 February) after the resignation of Durgacharan Banerji who was the cashier and accountant of the College. In 1849 the teaching-establishment

was further reduced. There were only three persons: Marshall, Secretary and Examiner; Vidyasagar, Cashier and Head Writer, and Halidas Gupta, *Muhari.*

During his tenure in the College Vidayasagar wrote two books: *Vasudev Charit,* which was never published, and *Betal Panchavimsati* (1847), one of the most popular books of tale in mid-nineteenth century Bengal. Vidyasagar resigned from the College in 1850 when he joined the Sanskrit College as Professor of Literature. Marshall left the College in 1852. On 24 January 1854 Lord Dalhousie officially dissolved the College of Fort William which had already ceased to function at least two years earlier.

Notes and References

1. HM 562., p. 263.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 266.
3. *Ibid*, p. 268.
4. HM 569., p. 574.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 575-83.
6. HM 570., pp. 1-3.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-6.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-14.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-20.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-5.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-5.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-98.
13. HM 571., p. 17.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-5.
15. HM 572., p. 43.
16. Rosselli (1974), p. 132.
17. HM 574., pp. 2-3.
18. HM 575., p. 77.

CHAPTER NINE

The College of Fort William: An Appraisal

Today moıe than a century after the abolition of the College of Fort William it is possible to look back to this institution with greater objectivity and to assess its significance as a learned institution and its role in the social and cultural history of modern India. The College started with a grand vision but that was shattered partly, if not completely, at a very early stage of its life. It is almost futile to speculate what this institution could have been had there been a sympathetic understanding of the Wellesely plan by the Court of Directors. Avenues of politics are twisted and curved, and the College became a victim of in-group politics at the very prime of its growth. Let us judge this College, therefore, by its achievements and failures without forgetting the forces which regulated its activities.

THE FACULTY

The fame of the College of Fort William rested in the main on its teachers. Indian literary historians have paid glowing tributes to Gilchrist and Lumsden and William Carey among its European teachers and to Mir Amman and Lallujilal and Ramram Basu, to mention only three, among the Indian scholars associated with the College. It is no doubt that Wellesely succeeded in recruiting competent British scholars though it must be admitted that none of them had the versatility of a William Jones or the intellectual acumen of the contemporary Orientalists in France

or in Germany. William Carey or, perhaps, John Leyden shared some of the qualities of the contemporary Indologists but none in the long run emerged as a scholar comparable to their stature. The British scholars at the Fort William College had great enthusiam, sincerity and sense of duty, some of them had a genuine passion for learning and some had a touch of versatility, William Carey for example, but none of them had really any brilliance, Colebrooke being an exception. When compared to the Indologists of Europe in the nineteenth century, they were just mediocre.

The Indian scholars were also amply qualified for their work, some of them were very learned and most of them were sincere and dutiful, but intellectually they were just above average. The only great mind associated with the College was Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar who joined the College when it was numbering the days of its final extinction. Even Mrityunjay Vidyalamakar who had the reputation of a fine Sanskritist did not leave anything substantial for the posterity.

The Fort William scholars produced hardly anything which is significant in the literary history of India, except that they gave a momentum to the growth of Indian prose literature. While their contribution towards the growth of prose in several languages is extremely important, the intrinsic literary value of the works written by the Fort William scholars is negligible. In 1824 William Carey made some observations about the quality of Bengali works published by the College prepared under his instructions. He wrote, "the works hetherto used in the College consist chiefly of stories and fables intended to illustrate the doctrines taught in oriental books and Ethics, but those, if morality contained in them were unexceptional, are frequently so trite and uninteresting, the incidents are so few and the fact and circumstances so trifling, consequently the style of writing so uniform and monotonous as to become tedious after the first reading. To obviate this evil a work entitled Rajavalee was written by the late Mritoonjuya...which was intended to be a history of Hindoosthan. This work would have been highly valuable had it been properly filled up with incidents, and details of circumstances which occured during the reign of the different princes, but for want of that it is little more than a dry chronicle of the more striking events which occured and has been found

utterly unfit for the purpose for that it was intended."[1] This is a very fair criticism by Carey and I think this criticism applies to the books produced by other Departments as well. It is doubtful whether the Fort William College did publish any work of its teachers, except the *Betal Panchavimsati* by Vidyasagar, which could be still read with pleasure. One must admire the scholars of Fort William College for their pioneering attempts in prose writing and give them their due credit. But their works, it must admitted, were dull and trite and unimaginative.

One can argue, however, that the teachers in the College of Fort William were scholars: they were text-book writers, grammarians and lexicographers, and it is unjust to judge their works by literary standards. They were indeed expected to write pedagogical works and they succeeded in that task. But even as text-book writers they followed either the traditional pattern or the instructions of their European higher officers. Mrityunjay or Ramram Basu or Mir Amman had the power to innovate and the desire to experiment—as it is evident from their writings—but they failed to do so primarily because of the structure of the teaching department. The European teachers controlled the policy and the Indian teacher obeyed the orders. The British teachers in the College were not only inferior to their European counterparts, they were also inferior to their Indian colleagues, in respect of their knowledge of Indian languages. And yet the Indian scholars were not treated at par with the European scholars. That created a silent tension in the academic life of the College of Fort William. The relation between the European and the Indian teacher was not based on academic terms: they were not teachers belonging to two different establishments but they belonged to two categories, those of *Sahibs* and of *Munshis*. The munshis did their work well for which they were paid and often rewarded but they failed to be creative even when they had the power.

The relation between the *Sahibs* and the *Munshis* were on the whole amiable. There were one or two incidents, recorded in the proceedings of the College Council, which created some bitterness between them. One teacher in the Hindustani Department was dismissed on the charge of accepting bribe. J. Mouat, Professor of Hindustani, was not in good terms with Mir Sher Ali, the Chief Munshi in the same Department. Mouat

charged him for his "total disregards to orders". The Munshi on the other hand complained against the Professor that his expectations from him were far from proper. Most probably Mouat wanted the Munshi to see him at his house regularly. The College Council wrote to Mouat that the Munshi should not be expected to attend him daily at his garden house and "the proper place for the attendance of all the Munshis of the College" was the College Hall.[2] Maulavi Nizamuddin, a Munshi in the Arabic-Persian Department, had to resign from the office because of his strained relation with Lumsden who described the Maulavi as "a specimen of impiety". Lumsden found his manners of "holding discourses with a European superior" particularly objectionable.[3] These incidents, however, cannot be taken very seriously, atleast they should not be misconstrued as evidence of any racial prejudice existing among the teachers. There are number of cases where the European teacher fought for the Indian Munshi to protect him from humiliation caused by unjust decisions of the College Council. The general relation between the European Teacher and the Indian Munshi was amiable and in some cases extremely cordial. But the tension to which I have referred was a psychological one. The Indian scholar knew that he was superior to his European master in respect of the knowledge of the Indian language, but he also realised that he was not competent to teach that language directly to foreign students without the help of the European teacher. He was primarily an informant, a mere tool in the exercise of language teaching to be handled by others. This was a situation which the Indian scholars of Mrityunjay's stature faced for the first time in their life and that created a tension between their potentiality as scholars and their actual duties as teachers. And this tension, though not manifested in their attitude towards their European higher officers, staunted the growth of their creative power.

Students and Munshis

The relation between the students and the Munshis was also partly determined by this tension. The students, at least many of them, hardly had any respect for these Munshis and quite a few of them misbehaved with them. The College Council in its meeting on 26 April 1806 examined a complaint from Munshi

Nazarullah against Mr. Inglish, a student of Hindustani. One day Inglish while talking to his Bengali Munshi drew a picture and asked whether that resembled the object he was accustomed to worship and asked him to bow down. At that time Nazarullah was sitting nearby and did not rise from the chair. Inglish was offended at that gesture and asked him to rise from the chair. He repeated the order and when the Munshi refused to obey he took away the chair forcibly and ordered that he should never have a chair in his presence. When the Munshi protested he proceeded to chastise him with a horse-whip and used abusive languages to the Munshi. When asked by the College Council Inglish denied that he used any abusive language or that he insisted the Bengali Munshi to bow to the picture as alleged by him. He admitted that he hit the Munshi and took his chair away. The Bengali Munshi in his evidence told that Inglish drew a picture and told him that it was the picture of a god and asked him and Nazarullah to worship it. Nazarullah rose from his chair on being ordered and uttered the word *beizzati* (insulting) and repeated it when Inglis took away the chair. The Governor General condemned Inglis' action in very strong term and called it "highly improper and unbecoming towards any native of whatever rank and description".[4]

This incident is important if only because it shows that the teacher-taught relation with which the Indian teachers were familiar did not exist in the College of Fort William. It was a new relationship, that of *Sahibs* and *Munshis*, that of European officers and their servants. Another incident in 1810 proves this point strongly. Ananda Chandra Sharma, a Munshi in the Sanskrit-Bengali establishment, was beaten by a student called Kennedy.[5] Kennedy admitted that he hit the pandit because he was disrespectful to him and could not tell the meaning of a word. In fact Ananda Chandra told him the meaning of that word but that did not conform with the meaning given in Forster's Bengali dictionary. Forster's dictionary, according to Carey, was full of errors and when Mohon Prasad Thakur wanted to reprint it Carey did not receommend the proposal.[6] The College Council summoned Kennedy and he was reprimanded in the name of the College for his very 'improper conduct'.

Next year Munshi Gholam Husen was beaten by Mr. Collins who acknowledged that being vexed on the long and tedious

explanation (which he did not understand) given by the Munshi when he returned from his unsuccessful search for the dictionary he did strike him on the shoulder with a whip. In a statement Collins wrote that "he was not aware that these people were entitled to be considered as Gentlemen".[7]

STUDENTS' ATTITUDE TO ORIENTAL LEARNING

Even if these incidents are not considered strong enough evidence of disrespectful attitude of the students towards their Indian teachers, there is little evidence to show that they had any respect for Oriental learning. Most of them did not welcome the task of learning Indian languages at all. They took it casually and not many of them learnt Indian languages well. Several amusing verses published in the *Calcutta Journal* during 1821-22 reflect the average student's attitude towards the language learning programme of the College. In a verse entitled *Rinaldo or the Incipient Judge, A Tale of Writers's Building* (*Calcutta Journal*, January, 1822) the hero's achievments are described in the following stanza:

> He studied Persian for a year or more,
> And Hindoostanee at the same time read;
> He did not relish much the bore
> Of filling with these languages his head,
> But by degrees he so impressed his store
> Of *vox et nil praetera* that he made
> Proficiency in Oriental knowledge
> Sufficient to pass out, last year.

Another student wrote the following devastating lines about the value of the prizes and medals and diplomas awarded by the College:

> . . . .the prizes of books being mouldy and old,
> I'd sent at an auction to try to get sold;
> And that the Diploma or rather Degree
> With which they'd the goodness to decorate me
> I'd affixed to a drum and had made it a toy
> For the use and diversion of Billy, my boy. . .[8]

One William Taylor who entered the College enjoyed describing

how he had melted the gold medal and made an earring for his girl friend.

It is an irony of fate that Charles Metcaffe, who was not only one of the most distinguished students of the College, but also the very first student to take his admission in the College of Fort William, was one of the severest critics of the College. On 17 April 1831, he wrote, pleading for the immediate abolition of the College that "the studies and examination of that Institution were as ill suited to qualify youngmen in an useful knowledge of the language for public service, as if they had been purposely contrived to impede it. . . ."[9] When Metcalfe arrived in Calcutta in 1801 the memories of Eton were too fresh in his mind to enable him to admire the College of Fort William. Metcalfe was attracted to Wellesely who shared his passionate love for Eton and persuaded him to join the College. In an entry in his diary of 27 April 1801 he recorded that he was "the first ever admitted into the College of Fort William". He signed his name to Persian, Hindustani, Greek, Latin and Italian and French languages. He left the College around 15 March 1802. It is doubtful if he had the time to acquire any Indian language in such a short time. He, however, had a soft corner for his private Munshi to whom he gave a pension of twenty pupees per month for life. Later he learnt some Persian and developed love for Persian poetry. Charles' brother Thomas also studied in the College for four months and it was Charles who arranged for his transfer from Calcutta.

Metcalfe, I think, had a psychological aversion to the College of Fort William which became more and more strong in later years. In 1831 he observed "the smattering given by the College was all in a wrong direction." In general the students of the College shared Metcalfe's feeling about this institution. It must be conceded, however, that there were students, however few in number, who took a genuine interest in the study of Oriental languages and literature. Essays published in *Primitiae Orientales* bear testimony to that interest. Some of the essays written by the students were published in several volumes under the title *Primitiae Orientales* first volume of which was published in 1803. The first volume contained essays of W.B. Martin, W.P. Eliot, W.B. Bayley on the *Advantages of an Academical Institution to be expected from in India.* C.T. Metcalfe, Martin and Hamilton

wrote on the *Best Means of acquiring a knowledge of the Manners and Customs of the Natives of India.* Wood, Martin and Newnham wrote on the *Character and Capacity of the Asiatics.* These essays are extremely interesting and valuable if only because they provide much insight in our understanding of the attitude of these students towards oriental life and culture. Elliot, one of the students in 1802, wrote in his essay on the *Advantages of an academical institution in India,* "Asia was of all parts of the world the first peopled, the first civilised. While the European world were hordes of barbarians, learning and science flourished in high perfection in the East, in some branches, probably to a greater degree of excellence than has ever been since attained..." This observation reflected the belief of many Orientalists of that century. The process of the discovery of the Indian past continued throughout the nineteenth century and at the initial stage of that fascinating process the Orientalists projected the India of the past as a haven of peace and prosperity. They declared India to be the cradle of human civilization. These lines of Elliot were written long before Max Mueller's eulogy of ancient India but the sentiment expressed in them is identical with Max Mueller's. Elliot visualised a renascent India: "the shoots of science will again spring up and flourish and the East will regain its once well merited celebrity". These words in various forms were echoed and re-echoed in hundreds of songs and poems and essays by Indian poets and politicians with greater passion and enthusiasm till 1947.

Students like Elliot thought that the College of Fort William could start a campaign which would invigorate the slumbering country on the one hand, and on the other hand the enthusiasm shown by the Government in Indian studies would "inspire a confidence that the laws will be administered with justice and impartiality. . ." Several students, however, were critical about the Hindu customs and religion and found the salvation of India in Christianity. During the second Public Disputation held on 20 March 1803 James Hunter spoke about the caste system and its effect on the Hindu society.[10] He pointed out how the Hindu society had classified people in rigorous groups and created unsurmountable barriers between them and thus refused some people to acquire learning and to be intellectually developed. His criticism against the priests as *vain,* and *ignorant* and *non-*

inquistive, and the Hindu elite as *insular* anticipates the criticism against the Hindu society by the Hindu reformers of the nineteenth century. Martin in his speech *The Asiastics are capable of as high degree of Civilization as the Europeans*, on the other hand, recalled the glory that was India.

INDIAN LITERATURE AND THE COLLEGE

Several students and teachers of the College emphasied the role of the College of Fort William in the revitalization of Oriental learning in India. Some historians in the recent years have tried to show that the College of Fort William played a significant role in the reawakening of interest in Indian literature and culture. Unfortunately we do not have much evidence to support this view. It is true that some of the teachers had great interest in Indian literature and their comments and observations on Indian literature and culture are valuable but they were little known to the scholars outside the College. Lumsden's and Lockett's observation about Arabic and Persian learning are certainly extremely interesting; but the College failed to give any direction to the Perso-Arabic learning in India. It was the Asiatic Society which tried to revive the general interest in Oriental studies and the College of Fort William, inspite of its enthusiam, was not in a position to join the activities leading to the growth of Oriental studies in India.

Scholars in their individual capacity, of course, tried to popularise Oriental works among the Europeans. Leyden, for example, wanted to translate *Keridet-al-Ajayed* by Iba-al-Wardi, an Arab geographer.[11] He mentioned that this particular work would be of immense importance to the European scholars since "the geography of the Arabs occupy an intermediate place between that of the ancients and the moderns, and is peculiarly useful for the elucidating the history of its dark ages". Similarly, Lumsden's interest in the *Shahnamah* was entirely personal. When the College Council did not approve of his proposal for the publication of the poem he wrote in 1812 "with equal justice might the utility of any other poem or the Belles Letters (*sic*) in general be doubted, and if Homer and Virgil or Cicero and Demosthenes had been submitted to this ordeal their works had probably never reached posterity. It is true that works of

imagination are not the Pillars which support the temple of science, but they are the ornaments that embellish it. They are not the road that leads to knowledge but they are the flowers which strew that rugged path and entice the traveller to persue his journey."[12]

The College as we have already stated in the previous chapters often encouraged scholars to publish and edit and translate important works of Oriental literature. But we have no record of the response of the Indian and European scholars to those publications. The criticism and comments of those works which are available in the unpublished records of the College are, however, important because they are the only available documents showing the nature of European critical response to Eastern literature. If those critical observations had been published during the first half of the nineteenth century they could have helped to create a new critical apparatus for the evaluation of Oriental literature. T. Macan, for example, in his proposal for an English translation of the *Shahnamah* made certain comments which are important for any student of Indian and Persian literature. He wrote,[13]

> "...The laws of compositions by which the Poets of Europe have been generally guided since works of Homer became generally known, have never been established or recognized in the Eastern world and consequently the rules of criticsm founded upon those laws are wholly unapplicable to the writings of Firdoosee.
>
> "Of his merits indeed a fair estimate can be formed only by his own countrymen or the inhabitants of those other Eastern Nation to whom the language, customs and laws of the ancient Persians are comparatively familiar and with such it may be safely affirmed that he is admired, esteemed, and venerated in a degree not unsurpassed by the most ardent lovers of Homer and Virgil,"

•

Macan raised a very important question, which is still relevant, in the study of Comparative Literature. Whether Oriental literature is to be judged and evaluated within its own critical framework or it should be studied in the light of the canons of European criticism. When Sanskrit literature fascinated some of

the great minds of Europe, Goethe for example, they expressed their joy and admiration in eloquent terms but never translated them into the language of criticism. One of the reasons, perhaps, was this dilema of the European reader: how to judge Oriental literature.

It is interesting to note that when Mr. Sergent, a student of Bengali, translated four books of the *Aeneid* into Bengali in 1806, the Visitor in a lecture declared that, that translation would "set before the native scholars of these provinces present or to come, that model of epic genius and Augustan taste" and would present "to the future poets of Bengal, choice between the chaste and polished compositions of the Western ancients and the vicious glare of figurative and hyperbolical exageration" of the Indian ancients.[14] Whether one agrees with the Visitor's comments about the general nature of Sanskrit epics or not, is a different matter. What is important is his very clear and straightforward distinction between the nature of the Roman epic and the Indian epic. But it is not only the difference between the two literatures alone, at times the unity between them was also realised. Lord Minto, for example, while paying a glowing tribute to Kalidasa and H.H. Wilson for his translation of the *Meghadutam* observed:

> "the work of Kalee Das unfolded now for the first time to such distant generations as our own displays that uniformity in the character and genius of our race which seems to unite at once the most remote regions of time and space, and which it always gratifies the human mind to discern through the superficial varieties in which some slight difference of external or even intellectual fashions may disguise it. In Kalee Das we find poetical design, a poetical description of Nature, in all her forms, moral and material, poetical imagery, poetical invention, just and natural feeling, with all the finer and keener sensibilities of the human heart. In these great and immutable features we recognize in Kalee Das, the fellow and kinsman of the great masters of ancient and modern poetry. . ."[15]

This is one of most profound and significant statements about Kalidasa and this also provides a framework of reference within

which a work of art can be judged irrespective of the culture within which it is born. The study of Comparative Literature could have emerged in the College of Fort William had the teachers developed the framework they almost inadvertently created.

The College of Fort William as a Centre of Patronage

The College of Fort William helped the development of Indian literature more as a centre of generous patronage than through its own programmes of teaching and publications. All most all the teachers at the College who wrote books were rewarded on the recommendations of the Professors of various language Departments. But the quality of books produced by the College was not very high and very few of them went beyond the immediate pedagogical interest. The College often encouraged individual enterprises and thus it built an image which can be described in the words of Gilchrist "an asylum for Oriental literature". In 1803 eight authors were rewarded for their books written in Urdu on the recommedation of Gilchrist and Colebrook.[16] Nihal Chand, Kundanlal, and Totaram—all three of them lived in Baraset--were rewarded for their works *Gulebakawali*, *Kulakam* and *Dilruba* respectively. Qazi Mirza Mughal, a talented poet of that time, Mir Abul Kasim, Basit Khan, Muhammed Bakhs, and Golam Hayder were rewarded for their works *Bastan*, *Husni Ekhtilal*, *Gulosunobar*, *Firoz Shah*, and *Golo Harmaz* respectively. Several Bengali works patronized by the College were of greater literary value. When Kashinath Sharma translated parts of *Navya Darshan*, a treatise on the Nyaya philosophy,[17] Carey not only recommended that ten copies of the book should be bought by the College but saw the importance of such work in the growth of Bengali prose literature.

The first distinguished Bengali author to ask for financial assistance from the College was Rammohun Ray.[18] Among other important authors who were helped by the College were Ramjay Tarkalamkar, Radhamohan Sen, Ram Kamal Sen and Nilratan Halder. Ramjay's *Vyavastha Samgraha*,[19] a selection from Hindu Law, was examined by Carey and on his recommendation the College bought one hundred copies of the book. Radha

Mohan Sen's *Sangita Taranga* (1818),[20] a treatise on Hindu music, was based on *Nadapuran*, *Svarneshvarmat*, *Bharatamat* and *Tufut-ul-Hind*. The author hoped that his book would bring the treasure of the ancient Hindu music within the reach of the Europeans and would enable them "to form a more just estimate of the degree of refinement to which our ancestors carried this delightful art." The College also bought one hundred copies of the Bengali Dictionary compiled by Ram Kamal Sen[21]. It is interesting to know that Bhabani Charan Benerji asked for help for his *Srimat Bhāgavat*[22] and Carey recommended for subscription for one hundred copies, but the College withheld the patronage for technical reasons.[23] Nilratan Halder's *Bahu Darshan* (1820),[24] an interesting collection of proverbs in various languages, was also patronised by the College as it was "the first attempt of the kind."

Persian and Hindustani Departments patronised several poets and scholars who had no official connection with the College. Bengali and Sanskrit Department also gave financial aid to scholars for their works. This practice continued till 1830. During the thirty years of its existence the College helped many scholars and writers and thus helped in a very substantial way the development of Indian languages in general and the prose literature of Urdu, Hindi and Bengali in particular.

Achievements and Failures

The College of Fort William acted as a centre of patronage of Oriental learning, though in a limited way. It also acted as a liason between several institutions such as the Serampore Mission Press, Asiatic Society and Calcutta Madrasa and the School Book Society. Through its programmes of publications it gave some impetus to the text book writers in Bengali. It also started the process of modernization of several languages, Bengali, Urdu and Hindi in particular. Its singular contribution, however, was the momentum it gave to the growth of prose in different Indian vernaculars. Yet all the activities of this institution were fraught with inadequacies because of the contradictions within its plans and projects. Whatever might have been the dream of Wellesly, the College was finally intended to be a languages-teaching institution and not a centre

for Oriental studies. But the College wanted to play a more ambitious role than it was capable of. It published text books and a few scholarly work, and yet it is difficult to understand why many of its teachers hoped that the College could play a role similar to that of the Asiatic Society. The Visitor in his speech in 1806, when the College had to curtail all its ambitious plans, declared that the College "will not only open to the learned in Europe ample sources of information on all subjects of Oriental History and Science, but will afford to various nations and tribes of India and especially to those which compose the body of our Indian subjects, more favourable view and more just and accurate conception of the British character, principles and Laws than they have hitherto enabled to form".[25]

Minto's hope was not fulfilled. The College of Fort William did not open to the European scholars the sources of Indian wisdom. In fact the contributions of the College of Fort William were hardly known to the European scholars and even when they were known they were never considered seriously. Secondly, there is no evidence that the College of Fort William succeeded in projecting a 'just and accurate conception of the British character'. The College was founded to serve the British colonial interest and, therefore, it was logical on the part of Minto to hope that the College should be able to create a public opinion favourable to British administration in India. But it was difficult for him to realise that such an institution could not serve the real interest of the people of India simply because that was not identical with British interest. The whole idea of regeneration of Oriental studies under the sponsorship of a foreign government as held by some of the historians of our time cannot be taken seriously unless one is oblivious of the primary motive behind the establisment of the College of Fort William. The actual regeneration of Oriental learning took place outside the College of Fort William, in the Asiatic Society and in the Universities of Germany and France and of England through the labours of individual scholars. Some historians have even suggested that the process of reawakening in Bengal was to some extent quickened by the activities of this College. We have pointed out earlier that works of the native scholars in the College had hardly any impact on the intelligensia of Bengal. The native scholars in the college had no motivation as

compared to scholars like Rammohun Roy, Bhabani Charan Banerji or Radhakanta Dev who worked independently and contributed more substantially to the regeneration of the Bengali society. When the Visitor mentioned that Sergent's translation of Virgil presented a choice between the Latin epic and the Sanskrit epic to the poets of Bengal he hardly realised that the Bengali translation of the *Aeneid* (which according to the evidence of Long's Catalogue was available in print) did not have slighest impact on the Bengali poets. But such a choice between two models of epic constructions was made at a later period by a student of Hindu College which was the most significant institution in the nineteenth-century Bengal.

The College of Fort William must be given its due credit for its contribution to the growth of prose in various Indian languages, and towards the modernisation of these languages but its impact on the Indian elite in general and Bengali elite in particular was never very great. Its activities centred round the Indian languages, it had many Indians in its staff and yet it failed to create an atmosphere where Indians could work creatively. The anomaly was clearly manifested in pay structures of the teachers. Indian teachers of great learning, such as Mrityunjay Vidyalamkar, were paid two hundred rupees per month, the highest salary that an Indian could get. Most of the munshis used to get forty rupees a month while an European scholar could get a maximum of sixteen-hundred rupees. Not a single Indian scholar was in the policy-making body either. And they had to waste much of their time and energy in teaching a group of boys who had little interest in things Indian. On the other hand, private institutions such as schools and colleges and the Christian Missions gave a tremendous momentum to the growth of an English-educated elite who made and shaped the nineteenth-century India. The new Indian received much inspiration from the Orientalists who created a new image of ancient India. He received inspiration from the Serampore Mission, from the Asiatic Society and from the British philanthropists, but the College of Fort William's contribution to his making was inconsequential. The College throughout its history had to struggle between two interests: administrative and academic. While the Court of Directors did not care much for the latter, the College Council mostly through the pressure of some scholarly individuals tried to reconcile

between the two. When it was felt that English could be introduced at some level of administration and when there was a sizable English-educated population in the country the necessity for learning Indian languages by the British civilans was naturally reduced and the continuance of the College as a teaching centre of Indian languages became redundant.

One feels that the College of Fort William was in a position to give a new direction to the Indian studies if it could identity its area of operation. The nineteenth-century Orientalism was basically a study of the past. The College of Fort William was interested in the living languages of India. It could have emerged as a centre of modern Indian studies but it became a victim of the tension between academic and administrative interests and also of the vacilating approach towards the Oriental studies of that time.

Notes and References

1. HM 567., pp. 510-2. Letter dt. 16 November 1824.
2. HM 560., pp. 88-9.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 502.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-1.
5. HM 561., p. 412 and 414. For the complete text of this letter see Das, Sisir Kumar, (1974).
6. HM 566., pp. 388-9. Carey's letter dt. 23 February 1821.
7. HM 561., p. 471. Minutes of 25 February 1811.
8. Many such verses have been extensively quoted in Kopf: *op. cit.*
9. Quoted from Thompson (1937), p. 280.
10. This essay written in Bengali has been quoted by De, *op. cit.*, p. 121f, also see Das, Sajanikanta, (1962), pp. 171-2.
11. HM 561., p. 192.
12. HM 565., pp. 153-4.
13. *Ibid*, pp. 145-53. Letter dt. 4 May 1825.
14. HM 561., p. 41.
15. This was the last speech of Minto at the College of Fort William.
16. HM 559., pp. 242-3 and pp. 285-6.
17. HM 566., p. 264.

18. HM 565., p. 155.
19. HM 566., pp. 126-7.
20. HM 565., pp. 157-8.
21. HM 564., pp. 343-5.
22. HM 569., p. 70.
23. *Ibid*, pp. 457-8.
24. HM 568., pp. 459-60.
25. HM 560., p. 103, Visitor's speech on 12 March 1806.

Appendices

APPENDIX A

SECRETARIES OF THE COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM

Charles Rothman (d. 1805)
First Secretary of the College: April 1801-October 1805. Came to India around 1798. Died on 23 September 1805.

Dr. William Hunter (1755-1812)
Secretary: November 1805-July 1807. Born at Montrose. Educated at the University of Aberdeen. Came to India in 1781. Twice acted Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal (May 1798-March 1802, April 1804-April 1811). Published several papers in the *Asiatic Research.* Taught Hindustani at the College of Fort William. Died at Batavia in 1812.

Lt. William Macdougal
Officiating Secretary in May 1807 during the absence of Hunter. Appointed Assistant Secretary in July 1807.

Dr. John Leyden (1775-1811)
Assistant Secretary in September 1807.
Physician, scholar and poet. Member of the Asiatic Society. Judge of 24 Parganes. Assay Master of Mint, 1810. Accompanied Lord Minto to Java as an interpreter of the Malay Language in 1811. Died 28 August 1811.

Lt. A. Lockett
Succeeded Leyden as Assistant Secretary on 22 February 1808, and Hunter as Secretary on 1 November 1811.

Capt. A. Galloway (c. 1786-1850)
Appointed Assistant Secretary on 1 November 1811. Also acted as Secretary for sometime between March 1811 and June 1812 during Hunter's absence. Entered Bengal native infantry 1800. Knighted in 1849. Chairman of the East India Company, 1849.

Capt. Thomas Roebuck (1781-1819)

Acted Assistant Secretary from 9 March 1811 to 22 June 1812. Appointed Secretary on 11 July 1812. Officiated as Secretary again 3 January 1815 to 4 October 1816. Author of the *Annals of the College of Fort William* (1819). Died in Calcutta on 8 December 1819. Buried at South Park Street Cemetary, Calcutta.

James Atkinson (1780-1852)

Officiated as Assistant Secretary from 3 January 1815 to 13 June 1816. Came to India in 1805 as a member of the Bengal Medical Service. Assay Master of the Mint: 1813-28. A fine scholar of Persian and a poet. Translated the *Shahanamah* into English. His poem *The City of Palaces* (1824) "contains what is rare in the English Literature of this period in India, a description of the notorious Charak Pujah" (Dunn: *op. cit.* p. 62).

David Ruddell (d. 1835)

Secretary of the College: 1824-1832. Was in the Bengal infantry. Joined the College of Fort William as Assistant Professor of Hindustani: 1821-22. Died on 18 December 1835 at Shiraj in Persia.

Lt. Hugh Todd (d. 1832)

Appointed Secretary of the College in January 1832. Was in the Bengal infantry. For sometime an examiner in the College of Fort William. Died in Calcutta on 21 March 1832.

J.W.J. Ouseley (d. 1889)

Secretary and Librarian of the College of Fort William: 1832-1838. Was in the Bengal infantry. A good Scholar of Persian. Died in England on 10 October 1889.

G.T. Marshall (d. 1854)

Last Secretary of the College of Fort William: 1838-1852. He, too, was in the Bengal infantry. For sometime an examiner in the College. Died at sea on 10 October 1854.

APPENDIX B

List of Teachers

European Establishment

Atkinson, James., Asstt. Professor of Arabic and Persian (1.5.1816-27.3.1818).

Ayton, Lt., Succeeded Mathew Lumsden in April 1, 1820. Department of Arabic and Persian.

Barlow, G.H., Professor of Law and Regulations of the British Government in India. (1801)

Baillie, Lt. John., Professor of Arabic. (1801)

Buchanan, Rev C., Provost and Professor of Greek and Latin. (1801)

Carey, William., Teacher of Bengali, Marathi and Sanskrit (1801-1807), Professor of Sanskrit (1807-1830).

Colebrook, H.T., Professor of Sanskrit (1801-1806). Carey succeeded him.

Coulthard, Samuel., Asstt. Professor of Arabic and Persian.

Dinwiddie, James., Teacher of Mathematics. (1801)

Du Plessey., Teacher of Modern European Languages. (1801)

Gilchrist, John., Professor of Hindustani (1801-1804).

Gladwin, Francis., Professor of Persian (1801-1806).

Harrington, John., Professor of Persian (1801-1806).

Hunter, William., Teacher, Hindustani (1804-05), Librarian (1805).

Kirkpatrick, W., Professor of Persian (1801-1806).

Leyden, John., Asstt. Professor of Hindustani (1807-1809).

Lockett, A., Librarian.(1818-?)

Lumsden, M., Teacher of Persian since 1801. Became Professor in 1807. Retired in 1823.

Martin, Lt. Russell., Assistant Professor of Hindustani (19.7.1813-23.12.1816).

Macdougal, W.E., Second Assistant to Professor of Hindi (November 1802).

Mouat, James., Teacher of Hindustani (1803), Professor of Hindustani (1806-08).

Ouseley, I.W.I., Professor of Arabic and Persian (1823-30).

Poezold, Rev., Teacher of Tamil (1801).

Price, William., Lt. Assistant Professor of Hindustani (1813), Professor (1823-30).

Roebuck, T., Asstt. Professor of Hindustani (1814).

Ruddell, D., Asstt. Professor of Hindustani (1820), Professor (1821-22).

Stewart, Charles., Second Asstt. Persian, (1801-03). First Assistant 1805-06.

Taylor, J.W., Professor of Hindustani (1808-1823).

Warring, Edward Scott., Assistant Professor of Hindustani (1801-1802).

Weston, John., Asstt. Professor of Arabic and Persian (1813). Acted as Professor during Lumsden's absence (31.12.1814-27.1.1816). Resigned 2.7.1818.

Native Establishment

Dates of appointment in the College have been given within brackets, *e.g.* Allah Dad (1801). A, P, S, H and B stand for Departments of Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindustani and for establishment of Bengali respectively. CM stands for Certified Munshi and WM for Writing Master.

Abdul Khud (Dec. 1813), P.
Abdul Rahaman (Oct. 1812), P.
Allah Dad (1801), P.
Ananda Chandra Sharma (1801), BS.
Appo (? 1801), Tamil.
Asad Ali Khan, (1801), H.
Asadullah (1801), P.
Asaf Ali (1805), CM, H.

Baburam Pandit, Copyist.
Badar Ali (1801), P.
Baharuddin (1805), H.
Bakhsis Ali (1805), CM, H.
Barkatullah (1805), CM, H.
Bharata Ramana (before 1815, discharged in Feb. 1816) Kannada.
Bowary Row (1801), Kannada.
Brahma Sacchidananda (Jan. 1832), H.

Chandi Charan (? 1805), BS. CM.

Dinabandhu (1846), BS.
Dulituddin (1801), H.

Fakhruzzuman (Aug. 1812), H.

Gadadhar Tarkavagish (Nov. 1805), BS.
Ganga Bishan (1801), P.
Ganganarayan (Dec. 1824), WM for Nagari and Bengali.
Gangaprasad Sukla. Bhakha Munshi.
Gholam Ahmad (1801), P.
Gholam Ali, Subordinate Munshi in H. Working in1805.
Gholam Akbar (May, 1801), H.
Gholam Ashgar, CM, H. Working in 1805.
Gholam Ashraf (May 1801), H.
Gholam Bhik (1801), P.
Gholam Ghos (May 1801), H.
Gholam Hyder (1844), H.
Gholam Nabi, CM, H.
Gholam Naqshband, Subordinate Munshi in H.
Gholam Saudani, CM, H.
Gholam Suban, CM, H.
Gholam Sureed, (May 1813), P.
Gholam Yahyah (1801), P.

Habibullah, CM, H. Working in 1805.
Haraprasad Ray, BS.
Hari Rama, Telugu.
Harun Husier (1801), P. Second Munshi.
Hilaluddin (1801), H.
Husen Ali (1814), P.

Imam Bakhs (1801), P.
Indreswar Pandit (1815), Braj Bhasha.
Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar (Dec. 1841), BH.

Jan Ali (July 1808), A.

Kalidas (1849), BS.
Kalikumar Ray (1801), Bengali copyist.
Kaliprasad Tarkasiddhanta (? 1805), BS.
Kamaluddin (? 1805), CM, H.
Karim Husen (? 1801), P.
Kashinath (1801), BS.
Kashinath Tarkapanchanan (1813), BS.
Kashi Raj (? Rai), (1801), H.
Kazim Ali *see* Md. Sayed.
Khalil Khan, CM, H. (? 1805)
Khelaram (Jan. 1827), Bhakha Munshi.
Kundanlal (1801), H.

Lallujilal (1802), Bhakha Munshi.

Mabarak Mahiuddin (1801), H.
Madhusudan (1842), B.
Madhusudan Tarkalamkar (1841), B.
Mahananda Pandit, Nagari WM (? 1805).
Mahammad Abdur Rahaman (1808), A.
— Ali (December 1811), AP.
— Aslam (1801), A.
— Azim (1801), A.
Mahammad Bakhs (? 1805), CM, H.
— Furhat Ali (1808), AP.
— Ghos (1801), P.
— Hisamuddin (1806), AP.
— Ismail (1839), P.
— Nazim, CM, H.

Mahammad Sadiq, CM, H.
— Saleh, CM, H.
— Sayed Kazim Ali (1807), AP.
— Toha (Dec. 1821), WM, P.
— Taqi (1801), H.
— Wajibuddin (1808), H.
— Wajid (? 1805), CM, H.
— Wuri (1805), H.
Mahananda Pandit, Nagari WM (1805).
Mariadasan, Tamil.
Mir Abdur, P. sent to Haileybury in 1807 to teach Persian.
— Ali Nakha Khan, (1801), A.
— Amman (May 1801), H.
— Bahadur Ali (1801), H. Appointed translator, 1804.
— Bukhs Ali (Nov. 1803), H.
— Hydar Bukhs (May 1801), H.
— Kazim Ali (1809), H.
Mir Mansur Ali, CM, H.
— Mahiuddin, CM, H.
— Sher Ali Afsos (1804 as Chief Munshi), H.
— Tusudduq (Nov. 1802), CM, H.
Mirza Kazim Ali (? 1805), Translator in H.
— Mehendi (1809 when Mohammad Aslam resigned), P.
— Titrut (? 1805), Translator in H.
Maula Bukhs (1802), H.
Mrityunjay Vidyalamlar (1801), BS.
Muhib Ali (? 1805), CM, H.
Munshi Yusuf Ali (1801), P.
Murtuza Khan (1801), H.

Nadir Ali (Sept. 1808), AP.
Narottam Basu (1806), BS.
Nasarullah (1801), H.
Nazar Asraf (1801), P.
Nazar Mahammad, CM, H.
Nazarullah (1802), P.
Nizamuddin (1808), A.
Nur Ali, CM, H. later became a munshi of the fixed Establishment. Died on 31.5.1811.

Padmalochan Churamani (1801), BS.
Purushram, Oriya.

Qudratullah, CM, H.
Qutb Ali (Sept. 1801), Writer P.

Radhakanta (1839), BS.
Rahmatullah (1801), H.
Rajchandra Dutta (1829), P.
Rajib Lochan (1801), BS.
Ram Chandra Ray (1083), BS.
Ramjay Tarkalamkar (1816), BS.
Ram Kishor Tarkachuramani (1805), BS.
Rammohan (1824), BS.
Ramnath Nyayvachaspati (1801), BS.
Ramram Basu (1801), BS.
Ram Kumar Ray (? 1805), CM, BS.
Ram Sundar (? 1805), CM, BS.

Ram Kumar Shiromani (1807), BS.
Reyat Ali (1801), P.
Roshan Ali (1801), A.
Roshan Ali (? 1805), CM, H.

Sahabuddin (1801), P.
Sayed Jafar (1801), H.
Shekh Ahmad (1810), A.
Shekh Ali (1801), P.
Sher Sayed Ali (1807), P.
Shibcharan (? 1805), CM, BS.
Shujant (?) Ali (? 1805), CM, H.
Sirajuddin (? 1805), CM, H.
Sripati (1801), BS.
Sudarshana, Telugu. (before 1815).
Sultan Husen (1801), P.
Sundar Pandit (July 1801), WM for Nagari.

Taj Mahammad (1843), P.
Taj Mahammad Qatib (1824), Copyist.
Tamizuddin, CM, H.
Tarini Charan Mitra (1801), H.
Tasadduq Ali (1801), P.
Teg Ali (1801), P.
Taffuzzul Husen (1844), H.

Vaidyanath (often spelt as Baidyanath), (Sept. 1807), Marathi.

Waris Ali (1801), P.

Yasin (1801), P.
Yusuf Ali (1801), H.

Zakir Ali (1801), A.
Zurban Ali (1802), P.

APPENDIX C

List of Students

Names of students who studied in the College of Fort William during the period between 1801 and 1828 have been Collected from the Proceedings of the College Council (HM 570). The sources of biographical information of some students are Rankin's articles on the College of Fort William in the *Bengal Past and Present*. The material has been presented in the following order: name, languages studied, period of study in months. Names have been arranged according to the date of admission of the students.

Abbreviations used: A Arabic, P Persian, H Hindustani, S Sanskrit, M Marathi, B Bengali, U Unknown.

1801

27 April

1. C.T. Metcalfe (H, 2). 1785-1846. Appointed to a Bengal writership in 1800. Resident of Delhi 1811-20 Resident of Hyderabad 1820-7. Provisional Governor General of India. Governor of Jamaica 1839-42. Governor General of Canada 1843-5.
2. R.T. Goodwin (APH,23).
3. T.H. King (U).
4. W. Chaplin (APH, 23). Writer in Madras establishment, 1799. Commissioner in Decan 1823.
5. T. Hamilton (APH, 23).
6. R.C. Ross (APH, 23).
7. A.H. Kelso (U).
8. H. Impey (PHB, 32). Elder son of Sir Elijah Impey. Died in Calcutta, 1805.
9. W.T. Swettenham (U).
10. C. Gowan (PHB, 32). Head assistant to the Resident at Poona, 1808. Died on 16.10.1809.
11. A. Blagrave (U).
12. J.W. Sage (U).
13. J. Wanchope, (APH, 32). Agent to Governor General at Rohilkhand 1818. Died 12.8.1818.
14. E. Wood (APH, 23).
15. J. Digby (PH, 40).
16. A.B. Tod (PHB, 32).
17. J. Ewer (PH, 32).

Superintendent of the Western Salt Chowkies, 1820.

1 May

18. T. Liell (HB, 32).
19. W. Gorton (B, 32).
20. T. Newnham (PH, 23).
21. J.W. Laing (AP, 8).
22. P.W. Pechell (PH, 23). Judge of the Provincial Court at Dacca, 1808. Died 25.5.1821, Dacca.
23. J. Hunter (PHB, 23).
24. W. Morton (PHB, 23).
25. R. Mitford (PHB, 40).
26. C. Lloyd (APHB, 8).

2 May

27. G. French (H, 8). Third judge of the Provincial Court, Mushidabad, 1821. Died 25.11.1824, China.
28. H. Hodgson (PHB, 8). Fourth judge of the city of Calcutta, 1817. Died 28.11.1822, at Madras.
29. R. Vansitart (P, 8). Collector of Midnapur, 1824.
30. G. Smith (H, 23).
31. D. Cambell (AP, 8). Judge and Magistrate of Hugli, 1809.

4 May

32. W.B. Bayely (APHB, 22). Provisional Governer General, 1828; Director of East India Company, 1834-58. Died May 1860. Father of Sir Stuart Bayely, Lt. Governor of Bengal, 1887-92.
33. H. Dumbleton (APHB, 22).
34. G. Harlwell (PHB, 8).
35. W.P. Potts (APH, 8).
36. J. Morrison (PH, 22).
37. R.G. Wynne (P, 8). Judge of the Provincial Court, Dacca, 1820. Died 11.8.1821.
38. J. Morgan (PH, 8).
39. D. Morrieson (PH, 22). Judge of Provincial Court of Appeal, Murshidabad, 1819.
40. J.J. Sparrow (PH, 22).
41. R.T. Powell (P, 7). Collector of Land Reevnue, Chittagong, 1813. Died 9.4.1819, Calcutta.
42. R.H. Rattray (P, 20). Judge at Sudder Dewany and Nizamat Adawlat, 1827. Author of *The Exile and other Poems*. Died in Calcutta.
43. G.D. Gutherie, (AP, 8).
44. J.Perry, (APH, 31).
45. R.C. Plowden, (HB, 23). Salt agent at Hizli, 1822. Died 21.9.1825.
46. W.B. Martin, (HB, 22). Resident at Hyderabad, 1825, at Delhi, 1830 and at Indore, 1832.
47. S. Bourcheer, (APH, 22).
48. G.J. Roberts, (U).
49. J.R. Barwell, (HB, 40). Dir. Bank of Bengal, 1817. Comptroller, Treasury,

1828. Died 16.4.1833.

50. W.H. Flemming, (APB, 22).

51. A. Ross, (AP, 8).
Resident at Delhi, 1822-3. Provisional Governor, Agra, 1835. Deputy Governor Fort William, 1837.

52. J. Wemyss ,(PH, 8).

53. M. Law, (B, 8).

54. W.J. Sands, (PH, 8).

5 May

55. W. Scott, (HB,8).
Deputy Collector of Govt. Custom, Calcutta, 1802. Lost in ship *Calcutta.* 14.3.1809.

56. R. Thackery, (PA, 8).
Collector 24 Parganas, 1811. Married to Anne Becher. Father of W.M. Thackery. Died at Alipur, 13.9.1815.

57. W.P. Elliot, (PH, U).
Secretary to the Embassy to Arab State, 1801. Died 16.10.1802.

7 May

58. W. Paton, (PHB, 22).
Died 19.8.1824, Calcutta.

8 May

59. C. Chisholme, (HB, 22).

9 May

60. C. Higginson, (PH, 22).
First judge of rhe Provisional Court, South Division, 1824. Died July 1824.

61. W. Rennell, (H, 7).

22 May

62. J.W. Grant, (H, 7).

29 June

63. B. Rowles, (PH, 30).

4 July

64. R. Jenkins, (APH, 20).
Resident at Nagpur, 1807-27. Director, East India Company, 1833-53. Chairman, 1839. Died 30.12.1853.

30 July

65. J. Romer, (PH,29).

1 August

66. J.H. Lovett, (APH, 6).

67. J. Long, (AP, 20).

15 August

68. N. Agar, (PH, 19).

20 August

69. S. Salter, (H, U).
Collector of Purnea, 1819. Died 19.9.1822, Calcutta.

31 August

70. M.S. Harris, (H, U).

71. I. Vaugham, (P, 18).

72. W. Monay, (P, 28).

73. I. Smith, (U).

74. R. Maconochie, (P, 19).

75. W. Oliver, (AP, 28).
President of the Suddar Court, 1831. Died 21.8.1846.

76. J. Walker,(PH, 28).
Deputy Registrar, Court of Suddar Dewany Adawalat, 1807. Died 18.10.1808, Calcutta.

77. W. Sander, (APH, 28).

78. W.D. Shakespear, (PH, U.)

79. R. Peter, (P, 28).
Asstt. Collector at Trichinopoly, 1804. Principal

Collector, Madurai, 1825. Died 6.8.1828, Madurai.

80. H. Spottiswood, (PH, 28).
81. H. Shaw, (H, U).
Writer, Madras Establishment, 1801. Assistant to Principal Collector, Calcutta, 1803. Died 11.2.1808.
82. A.H. Cole, (PH, 27).
Secretary to Resident, Mysore, 1806. Resident, Mysore, 1812. Died 16.6.1844.
83. J.V. Agnew, (H, 5).
Asstt. to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, 1803. Out of service, 1808.
84. C. Lushington, (PH, 28).
Assistant to Registrar of Saddur Fauzadari Adawlat, Fort St. George, 1813. Died. 3.8.1844.

2 September

85. J. Mainwaring,(PH, 36).
Commercial Resident at Cossim Bazar, 1831. Died 1.6.1833, Calcutta.

21 September

86. J. Sport, (HB, 27).
Asstt. to Salt Agent at Bullooah and Chittagong, 1810. Died 29.1.1813, Chittagong.

24 October

87. A.G.I. Tod, (PHB, 26).
88. H.G. Keene, (AP, 26).
Served during the seige of Seringapatam. Professor of Arabic at Haileybury, 182-34.
89. E.C. Lawrence, (PB, 26).
90. J.T. Watson, (PH, 26).

26 October

91. E. Impey, (PBS, 34).
Son of Sir Elijah Impey. Acting judge of the Provisional Court of Appeal at Murshidabad, 1818. Suspended from Office, 1819. Died 27.11.1822.
92. I. Hayes, (PBS, 26).
93. T.C. Plowder, (PH, 23).

27 October

94. G. Curtis, (PB, 26).
Died 20.9.1805, Purneah.
95. J.T. Shakespeare, (H, U).
Judge of the Suddur Dewani Adawlat, 1812. Died 12.4.1825.
96. C. Maidman, (PH, U).
Assistant to Commercial Resident at Ingeram, 1803. Deputy Commercial Resident at Ingeram, 1835. Died 27.8.1824.

28 December

97. H. Puller, (PH, 24).
Judge and Magistrate at Rangpur, 1812. Died 15.11.1813, Rangpur.

1802

8 February

1. W. Fraser, (APB, 35).
Agent to Governor General in Delhi, 1832. Brother of J.B. Fraser, artist and author of *Twenty*

Views of the Himalayan Mountains, London, 1820. Shot dead at Delhi, 1835.

9 February

2. H. Baston, (U).
3. I.B. Elliot, (H, U).'

20 July

4. J. Marjoribanks, (PB, 29).
5. M.H. Turnbull, (APH, 29).
6. C.W. Gardner, (BM, 29). Secretary to Government in the Military Department, 1812.
7. Hon'ble E. Gardiner, (PH, 30). Fifth son of the first Lord Gardiner, the Admiral. Resident at the Court of Nepal, 1819. Died 1861.
8. W.R.B. Benett, (U). Collector of Rajsahi, 1815. Died 1.6.1830, Serampur.
9. I. Littledale, (APH, 29).
10. T.C. Scott, (APH, 29).

26 July

11. E. Barnett, (U).

2 Angust

12. C.W. Steer, (H, 6). Commissioner of Revenue, Bauleah Division, 1835. Dismissed from servicc 1.12.1841.
13. H. Shakespeare, (PH, 29). Third ordinary member of Governor General's Council 1835. Died 20.3.1838, Calcutta.
14. C.R. Martin, (PHBM, 29).
15. D. Scott, (PH,17). Agent to Governor General at N.E. Frontier, 1823. Died 20.8.1831, Cherapunji.
16. S. Bird, (HB, 29). Fourth Judge of the Provincial Court, Dacca, 1824. Died 24.10.1824, Dacca.
17. R. Grindall, (H, 6). Judge of the Provisional Court of Appeal of Benaras, 1827. Died 13.11.1831.
18. H.C. Daves, (H, 6).

4 August

19. I. Hunter, (PH, 6).

27 September

20. W.H. Robinson, (H, U).
21. G. Swinton, (APH, 15). Persian Secretary to Governor General, 1814.
22. S.J. Moore, (BM, 27).

25 October

23. H. Alexander, (PH, 26). Resigned 30.4.1807. Director, East India Company, 1826-53. Died Jan. 1861.

1803

28 February

1. G.C. Carey, (B, 23).

31 May

2. W. Trower, (P, 16). Third member, Board of Revenue, L.P., 1822. Died 24.9.1825, Calcutta.

18 July

3. W. Lowther, (PH, 31).
4. A. Revely, (PII, 31).

25 July

5. E. Pany, (PHB, 29).

6. G. Sanders. (U).
7. H.G. Chislian, (PHB, 29).
8. Richard Walpole, (PH, 31). Judge of the Sudder Dewany Adawlat, 1832. Died 16.9.1834.
28 July
9. A. Mackenzie, (HB, 18). Civil and Session judge, Kanpur, 1833. Died July 1833, Kanpur.
10. C.G. Mackenzee, (H, U). Died 18.8.1804, Calcutta.
29 August
11. C. Chapman, (PBM, 30).
12. T. Parkenham, (PBH, 30).
30 August
13. H. Hope, (APH, 16). Salt Agent at Jessore, 1820. Died 7.10.1822, Mirzapur.
5 September
14. W.B. Gordon, (PH, 30). Salt Agent at 24 Parganas, 1825. Died 8.11.1827, Calcutta.
6 September
15. H.W. Williams, (HB, 30). Commercial Resident at Jangipur, 1819. Died 6.10.1826, Serampur.
16. G.S. Siddores, (HB, 30).
17. W.W. Bird, (PH, 30). Deputy Governor of Bengal, 1840. Officiated Governor General, 1844. Died 1857.
8 September
18. M. Ricketts, (PAB, 30). Agent to Governor General, Murshidabad, 1818. Resident, Lucknow, 1822-29.
9 September
19. W. Lock, (PH, 30). Judge and Magistrate at Patna, 1816. Died 6 July 1824.
10 September
20. W. Cracroft, (HB, 27).
12 September
21. H. Newnham, (HB, 27).
26 September
22. W.H. Tippet, (H ,16).
28 September
23. C.R. Lindsay, (P, 29).
24. A. Campbell, (U).
29 September
25. P. Monckton, (PH, 29). Judge and Magistrate of Gorakhpur. Died 6.1.1820, Gorakhpur.
17 December
26. W. Ower, (AP, 24).
27. G.A.C. Plowden, (H, U). Died at Calcutta on 16.11.1804 at the age of eighteen.
26 December
28. H.D. Gordon, (P, 26).

1804

4 April
1. J. Ewing, (P, 34).
23 February
2. W. Wright, (PH, 36).
9 April
3. I. T. Roberdean (PH, 32).
17 August
4. E. Maxwell (HB, 30).

Judge of the Provincial Court, Murshidabad, 1814. Died 19.8.1826, Murshidabad.

5. I.R.B. Berney, (H, U).

18 August

6. J. Eyre, (H, 22). Died 28.11.1811 Jessorc.
7. J. Shumm, (H, 20). Superintendent at Salt Chawkies at Behar, 1823. Died 15.3.1828, Patna.
8. C. Dawes, (U). Third Judge of Dacca Provincial Court, 1827. Died 11.1.1831.

18 September

9. W.J. Clark, (PH, 27).

29 September

10. N.J. Halhed, (PHB, 27). Son of N.B. Halhed. Judge of the Sudder Dewany and Nizamat Adawlat, Bengal, 1836. Died 1.8.1838, Calcutta.

10 October

11. W.H.C. Smyth, (PH, 26).

19 October

12. J.L. Savage, (U). Died on 29.8.1808, Calcutta.

7 December

13. W. Dorin, (PH, 12). Judge of Sudder Dewany and Nizamat Adawlat, Bengal, 1826. Died 26.12.1827, Calcutta.
14. R.B. Gardiner, (HB, 26).

8 December

15. C.H. Hopper, (B, U). Judge and Magistrate of 24 Parganas, 1818.

15 December

16. H. Oakley, (HB, 24). Judge of the Provincial Court at Murshidabad, 1826. Died 2.5.1826, Munger.
17. H.W. Money, (B, 26). Collector of Govt. Customs and Town duties, Dacca, 1822. Died 4.8.1825, Dacca.
18. J. Sullivan, (H). Member of Governor General's Council and President, Revenue and Marine Boards, 1839.
19. W.C. Ward, (HB, 24).

1805

12 February

1. H.J. Chippendale, (U).

12 August

2. A.J. Colvin, (PH, 28). Judge of Sudder Dewany and Nizamat Adawlat, Allahabad, 1831.
3. R. Brown, (PH, 16).
4. G. Warde, (PH, 28).
5. C. Mackenzie, (U). Superintendent of Sulkea Salt Golah, 1836. Died 19.8.1840, Calcutta.

9 September

6. W.F. Dick, (B, 27).
7. C. Murray, (H, 17). Asstt. to the Resident at Fort Marlborough, 1807. Died 7.1.1808.

8. H. Ellis, (PHB, 15).
First Asstt. to the Resident at Poona, 1810.
16 September
9. A.T. Tytler, (PHB, 27).
Registrar of 24 Parganas, 1812. Died 12.2.1816 at sea.
23 September
10. R. Glyn, (PH, 15).
11. J. Cairncross, (U).
Died 1.1.1806, Calcutta.
12. C. Smith, (HB, 34).
13. W. Thomas, (PH, 27).
14. F. Mason, (PH, 27).
Resigned, 1809. Lost in the *Calcutta* on way home.
15. E.R. Barwell, (HB, 27).
16 December
16. J. Inglis, (PH, 24).
17. E. Ellice, (HB, 24).
18. S.T. Coythbart, (PH, 24).

1806

11 April
1. C. Tucker, (HB, 32).
19 April
2. E. Pond, (HB, 32).
3. W. Braddon, (PH, 20).
21 April
4. C.R. Barwell, (PH, 49).
Judge of Sudder Dewany Adawlat, 1835. Died 12.12.1836, Calcutta.
15 May
5. R. Alexander, (PH, 19).
6. G. Todd, (PH, 31).
7. E. Bagge, (PHB, 19).
Later known as E. Lee Warner. Judge and Magistrate of Chittagong, 1818. Comminissioner, Bhagalpur, 1829.
21 May
8. M. Moore, (PH, 31).
26 May
9. J. Lowther, (U).
Registrar to Zillah of Shahabad, 1815. Died 2.9.1815 at Chandannagar.
18 June
10. C. G. Blagrave, (PHB, 47).
Salt agent at Chittagong, 1832. Died 10.6.1836, Chittagong.
11. W. J. Harding, (PHB, 30).
30 June
12. W. R. Jennings, (PH, 47).
Magistrate of Patna, 1831. Died 31.3.1837, Patna.
14 July
13. J. W. Grant, (PH, 46).
16 July
14. T. du Porcher, (U).
Resigned in 1807.
15. J. Macnabie, (PH, 17).
17 July
16. T. C. Sisson, (PH, 17).
21 July
17. W. Lambert, (PH, 17).
30 July
18. C. Monckton, (HB, 29).
25 September
19. R. Morrison, (PH, 27).
17 November
20. L. Kennedy, (HB, 54).
21. W. Lindsay, (PH, 13).
Asstt. to the Resident with Scindia, 1809. Died 6.12.1810.

19 November
22. H. Sergent, (HBM, 25). Second member, Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, 1826. Died 24.4.1834.
20 December
23. R. Barlow, (PH, 24). Commissioner of Allahabad 1829. Nephew of Sir George H. Barlow, Bart. Died 1845.
24. T. Brown, (PH, 24). Collector of Govt. Customs and Town duties at Barelly, 1819. Died 13.9.1825, Cal.
25. H.C. Robertson, (PH, 24).
24 December
26. J.J. Fraser, (H, U). Resigned in 1809.

1807

14 February
1. J. Sparks, (PH, 51).
10 April
2. N. Macleod, (PH, 19).
3. C.J. Davidson, (HB, 32). Suptd. of Narayanganj Salt Chowki, 1827. Died 1.4.1839, Dacca.
30 June
4. H. Wakeman, (U).
25 July
5. J. Lyon, (PH, 17).
1 August
6. R.H. Tullock, (PHB, 17).
3 August
7. W. Forrester, (PH, 17).
8 August
8. W.A. Chalmer, (PH, 4). Judge of Bhagalpur, 1821.
9. J. Furneaux, (PH, 16).
10. R. Chamberlain, (PH, 16).
13 August
11. T.P. Calvert, (HB, 33). In-charge of Collectorate of Saharanpur, 1817.
14 August
12. F.C. Smith, (PH, 45). Suptd. of Police, Lower Provinces, 1837.
10 September
13. G. Sotheby, (APH, 15).
21 October
14. J. Harrington, (PH, 31). Eldest son of Sir J.E. Harrington, 8th Bart. Asstt. to Magistrate of Nadiya, 1810. Judge of Jessore, 1825. Judge of Patna, 1833. Died 5.1.1835, Patna.
11 November
15. A. Smelt, (PH, 42).
21 November
16. F.B.S. Wilder, (PH, 13).
1 December
17. A. Trotter, (PH, 30).
2 December
18. W. Carey, (H, U). Died 25.8.1808, Calcutta.
3 December
19. A.C. Barwell, (HB, 46). Salt Agent at Jessore, 1821. Salt agent, Cuttak, 1828. Collector of Birbhum, 1835.

1808

24 March
1. W. MacIntosh, (HB, 21).
2. E.J. Smith, (PH, 54).

31 May

3. W. Petrie, (H.B, 48). Collector of Purneah, 1823. Died 31.5.1825, Purneah.

17 August

4. W.H. Bayli, (HB, 21).

18 August

5. A.N. Forde, (HB, 33).

19 August

6. H. Southebay, (APHB, 16).

22 August

7. G. Scott, (PH, 33).
8. J. Drew, (PH, 45). Collector of Land Revenue and Suptd. of Eastern Salt Chowkies, Dacca, 1827, Died 30.1.1829, Dacca.[1]

24 August

9. W. Fane, (HB, 21).
10. M.T. Whish, (PH, 33). Officiating Judge and Magistrate of Bareilly, 1829. Died 19.5.1821, Almorah.

26 August

11. J. Curtis, (PH, 21).
12. A.C. Fraser, (PH, 16).

5 September

13. G. Wellesely, (PH, 15). Resident at Indore, 1.8.1825.

16 September

14. R. Lewin, (PB, 32).

20 September

15. R. Hunter, (APH, 15).

29 October

16. J. Trotter, (HB, 31).

2 November

17. P. Jennis, (PH, 14).

4 November

18. Hon'ble W. L. Melville, (PH, 30).

5 November

19. F. Magniac, (APHB, 13). Judge and Magistrate of Murshidabad, 1829. Died 15.7.1830, Murshidabad.

7 November

20. F.W. Russell, (U). Civil and Session Judge of Hugli, 1841. Salt Agent at Chittagong. Died 25.3.1842, Chittagong.

15 November

21. R.M. Bird, (APHB, 18). Member of Sudder Board of Revenue, Allahabad, 1834.

16 November

22. H. Mortlock, (PH, 13). Deputy Persian translator to Govt., Fort St. George, 1819.

22 November

23. H. Mackenzie, (APHB, 13). President of the College Council, Fort William, 1825. Secretary to Lord Amherst on tour in the upper provinces.

1 December

24. W. Nisbet, (PH, 18). Export Warehouse Reeper. One of the first cadets to pass out of Haileybury. Died 10.9.1833 at Garden Reach.

1809

11 May

1. J. Gibson, (HB, 35).

26 July

2. H.T. Prinsep, (PHB, 10). 1792-11.2.1878. Brother of James Princep and father of Sir Henry T. Princep, Judge of the High Court at Fort William, 1878-1904, the last of the Haileybury man. Asstt. to the Secretary to the Marquess of Hastings in his tour of the upper provinces, 1817. Secretary to Govt. of India, General, Foreign and Finance Deptts., 1834. Director, East India Company, 1850-58.
3. J. Fraser, (PH, 91). Judge and Magistrate of North Division of Bundel-Khand, 1830. Died 31.5.1831.
4. H.J. Middleton, (PH, 22).

29 July

5. G. Stockwell, (PH, 22).

2 October

6. P. Patton, (PH, 8).

25 October

7. C. Morley, (HB, 31).
8. J.S. Bolderp, (PH, 31).

26 October

9. G.T. Bayley, (PH, 7).
10. G. Porcher, (PB, 7).
11. C.A. Molony, (PH, 7). Agent to Governor General in Saugar and Narmada territories, 1820. Died at Saugar on 13.9.1824.

13 November

12. R.W. Brooke, (H.B., U).

1810

30 July

1. R. Lowther, (HB, 46).

1 August

2. C. Macsween, (PH, 10).

6 August

3. G. Mainwarring, (HB, 33).

18 September

4. T.J. Dashwood, (PHB, 8). Civil and Session Judge of Trihoot, 1832. Died 17.6.1837.

1 October

5. R.C. Parks, (PH, 8).
6. C.J. Middleton, (PH, 8).
7. G. Martin, (PH, 44).

3 October

8. J. Young, (PH, 7).
9. J.C. Dick, (PH, 43).
10. H.L. Jones, (U).
11. I.P. Ward, (HB, 7).
12. A. Ogilrie, (HB, 43).

5 October

13. M. Ainslie, (PH, 7).

10 October

14. W.D. Kerr, (PHB, 31).

10 December

15. J. Fendall, (PHB, 5).
16. G.W. Traill, (PH, 5).
17. I.C. Colenbroke Sutherland, (PHB, 5).

12 December

18. J. Carter, (HB, 5).

14 December

19. R.H. Hutchinson, (PHB, 5). Judge of Sudder Dewany

and Nizamat Adawlat, 1838. Died 17.9.1838, Calcutta.
20. G.T. Collins, (HB, 41). Collector of Mymensing, 1824. Died 8.11.1835, Calcutta.
21. J.A. Pringle, (PHB, 5).
22. W.H. Oakes, (HB, 29).
19 December
23. A. Anderson, (PHB, 5).
24. R.A. Ward, (PH, 54).
20 December
25. E. Marigoribanks, (PH, 29). Commercial Resident at Haripaul, 1831. Died 1.6.1833, Calcutta.

1811

3 February
1. R. Saunders, (PH, 3).
22 August
2. S.M. Boulderson, (PH, 21).
3. A.H. Bosanquent, (PH, 33).
4. W. Wollen, (HB, 86).
5. C.C. Hyde, (HB, 21).
18 October
6. J.E. Wilkison, (PHB, 19).
7. W.A. Pringle, (PH, 56).
21 October
8. W. Lance, (U). Collector of Dacca, 1822. Died 11.8.1828, Dacca.
22 October
9. I. Dewar, (PH, 80).
10. R. Stuart, (PH, 19). First Asstt. to Resident at Katmandu, 1818.
11. C.W. Smith, (HB, 31).
29 November
12. P.M. Wynch, (PH, 7).
30 November
13. H. Swelterham, (PH, 6).
14. G. Richardson, (HB, 6). Commercial Resident at Rangpur, 1823. Died 21.7.1826, Berhampur.
2 December
15. G. Richardson, (PH, 66).
3 December
16. R.H. Boddam, (PH, 42).
5 December
17. H. Chastenay, (PB, 17). Private Secretary to the Governor General (Marquess of Hastings), 1820; Acting Secretary to Government in the Persian Secretary's office, 1822. Died 27.5.1822, Calcutta.

1812

20 January
1. E.J. Smith, (PH, 4).
3 August
2. W. Smith, (PH, 21). Judge and Magistrate, Ramgarh, 1819. Died 3.10.1821, Ramgarh.
4 August
3. W.H. Valpy, (PH, 9).
5 August
4. C. Harding, (PB, 9).
5. E.J. Harrington, (PB, 9). Second son of Sir John Edward Harrington, 8th Baronet (1760-1831). Asstt. to Magistrate at Chittagong, 1812. Officiat-

ing Judge of Hugli, 1834. Acting Post Master General, 1836. Died 5.10.1857.

6. J.J. Bosanquet, (HB, 21).
7. A.D. Lindsay, (PH, 9).

12 August

8. G. Robinson, (U).
9. J.B. Biscoe, (PHB, 31).

24 August

10. J.H. Doyly, (HB, 9). Judge at Birbhum, 1830. Succeeded his brother Charles as 8th baronet in 1845.
11. R.C. Glyn, (PSB, 9).

25 August

12 H.M. Pigou, (PH, 9).
13. H.W. Hobhouse, (PB, 9).

27 August

14. R.P. Nisbet, (HB, 21).

28 August

15. H. Creighton, (PB, 16).

19 September

16. R. Walker, (PH, 69).

5 November

17. J. Cayby, (PH, 6).

6 November

18. G.E.J. Innes, (PB).

1813

14 January

1. A. Murray, (HB, 29). Acting Collector at Saharanpur, 1813. Died Feburuary 1819.

17 February

2. A. Reid, (PH, 40).

26 February

3. T.T. Metcalfe, (HB, 3). Father of Sir Theophilus John Metcalfe. Succeeded his brother Lord Metcalfe as 4th Baronet. Agent to Governor General at Delhi, 1835. Died 4.11.1853.

6 August

4. H.A. Annesley, (PH, 34).

26 August

5. H. Blundell, (PH, 9).

31 August

6. R.W. Marxwell, (PHB, 9).

13 September

7. J.E. Monsell, (PHB, 44).

11 October

8. T.H. Barlow, (PH, 32). Salt Agent at Hizli, 1835. Third son of Sir G.H. Barlow Bart, Provincial Governor General, 1805-1807. Died 11.9.1841, Contai.

14 October

9. R.M. Tilghman, (PH, 32). On deputation with Lord Bentinck in the Western Provinces, 1829. Commissioner of the Hummerpur Division, 1833. Died 1.6.1834.

25 October

10. J. Nepean, (U).

17 November

11. A. Dick, (PH, 19).
12. R.J. Taylor, (PB, 19).
13. H. Moore, (PB, 6).
14. S.M. Duntze, (PB, 19).
15. B. Taylor, (PB, 19).
16. H. Watters, (PH, 19).

18 November

17. R. Cavendish, (PB, 19).

19 November
18. Sir T.P. Hayes Bart, (PH, 31).
20 November
19. E. Molony, (PH, 6).
20. I. Master, (PBS, 6).
21. Hon'ble W. Rodney, (PB, 30).
22 November
22. P.Y. Lindsay, (PH, 26).
2 December
23. J.W. Templer, (PB, 30).
13 December
24. A. Sterling, (APH, 5).
25. T.G. Vibart, (PB, 30).
26. H. Millet, (APHB, 5).
22 December
27. C.T. Glass, (APH, 18).

1814

6 August
1. M. Bruce, (PH, 22).
2. C. Phillips, (PH, 22).
3. H.M. Parker, (PH, 22).
8 August
4. A.F. Lind, (PB, 10).
22 August
5. H. Nisbet, (PH, 10).
18 October
6. I.J. Oullerton, (PB, 20).
19 October
7. W.H. Macnaughton, (APHBS, 8).
8. R. Creighton, (PHB, 8).
9. W. Wilkinson, (PB, 20).
20 October
10. G.E. Law, (PH, 19).
11. W. Ritchie, (PH, 19).
12. H. Grant, (PB, U).
13. E.W. Cockerett, (PB, 31).
7 November
14. R.H. Scott, (PH, 30).
3 December
15. Sir J.B. Stonehouse Bart, (PH, 18).
16. L. Maniac, (PB, 18).
17. H.H. Thomas, (PH, 18).
18. T.P.B. Biscoe, (PB, 18).
19. W. Monckton, (PBS, 6).
20. H. Fraser, (PB, 30).
5 December
21. H. Graham, (PH, 18).
7 December
22. D.C. Smyth, (PH, 6).
23. T.H. Maddock, (PH, 6).
24. C. Sturat, (PB, 18).
9 December
25. D. Dale, (PB, 6).
12 December
26. C.D. Russell, (PH, 67).

1815

3 January
1. N. Smith, (PHB, 2).
28 August
2. E.S. Montagu, (PH, 9).
3. W.J. Palmer, (PH, 45).
4. T. Clark, (PBS, 9).
8 September
5. I.J.M. Reid, (PH, 9).
4 October
6. R. Chase, (PH, 29).
11 October
7. A. Hume, (PB, U).
27 October
8. C. Halhed, (A, 13).
11 November
9. G.P. Thompson, (PH, 18).

27 December
10. W.J. Turgurnd, (PH, 17).

1816

20 January
1. W. Dent, (PB, 16).
19 July
2. T. Clarke, (PB, 23).
21 August
3. E. Law, (PH, 22).
24 August
4. E. Syirling, (PH, 9).
30 August
5. W.N. Garrett, (PH, 33).
9 September
6. I. Wyatt, (PH, 9).
7. I. Hunet, (PB, 33).
8. H. Manning, (PH, 33).
9. W. Dundas, (PHB, 9).
10. D. McFarton, (PHB, 9).
11. I. Dunsmure, (PH, 9).
12. H. Taylor, (PB, 9).
13. F. Macnaghton, (PH. 9).
14. W. Blackburne, (PB, U).
12 September
15. I.T. Reade, (PH, 8).
18 September
16. J. Millett, (PH, 8).
27 September
17. T.T. Blackburn, (PH, 32).
30 September
18. A.C. Floyer, (PH, 21).
19. T.A. Shaw, (PH, 8).
6 November
20. H. Smith, (PB, U).

1817

22 January
1. W.T. Robertson, (PH, 4).
11 March
2. H.T. Owen, (PH, 15).
14 March
3. H.S. Oldfield, (PH, 15).
9 April
4. I. Neave, (PH, 26).
17 May
5. E. Bury, (PH, 25).
17 July
6. J. Campbell, (PB, 11).
14 July
7. C.A. Thompson, (PH, U).
6 August
8. R. Catheart, (PB, 10).
9 September
9. C. Fraser, (APHB, 9).
10. T.J. Turner, (PH, 21).
11. J.C. Brown, (PH, 21).
12. J. Towensend, (PB, 21).
20 September
13. G.J. Francc, (PB, U).
7 October
14. R. Hoodward, (PB, 8).

1818

26 January
1. R. Williams, (U).
3 February
2. R. Macan, (PH, 4).
14 February
3. G.I. Morris, (PBS, 4).
21 February
4. A. Thellusson, (PH, 27).
24 February
5. H.S. Bouldson, (PB, 4).
25 February
6. G.R. Clark, (PH, 15).
7. A. Molony, jr., (PH, U).
7 March
8. C. Cardow, (PB, 15).

28 March
9. J. Stanforth, (PH, U).
10. J. Dick, (PH, U).
3 April
11. J. Gray, (PH, U).
20 May
12. C.C. Parks, (U).
1 April
13. R. Barlow, (PB, 10).
22 August
14. W. Page (PH, 9).
26 August
15. F. Curries, (PH, 22).
11 September
16. B.H. Hodgson, (PB, 9).
22 September
17. C. Lindsay, (PH, 8).
24 September
18. F.J. Shore, (PH, 14).
25 September
19. Simson, (PB, 8).
26 September
20. W.R. Young, (PH, 26).
7 October
21. W.H. Smith, (PH, 20).
31 December
22. W.P. Damfier, (U).

1819

21 January
1. L. Davies, (PB, 10).
22 January
2. A. Grote, (PB, 10).
3. W.R. Clark, (PB, 4).
4 June
4. I.T. Riway, (PH, 24).
23 June
5. G.A. Bushby, (PH, 17),
28 June
6. I.R. Best, (PBS, 11).
30 June
7. I. Trotter, (PHB, 5).
23 July
8. W.P. Okedon, (PB, 22).
9 August
9. A. Cumming, (PB, 10).
2 August
10. T. Richardson, (PB, 9).
30 August
11. H.S. Lane, (PB, 9).
6 September
12. H.P. Russell, (PH, 14).
13. R. Wells, (PH, 3).
14. J. Armstrong, (PH, 14).
12 September
15. A.J.G. Locke, (PH, 14).
14 September
16. J.Wytt, (PH, 9).
18 September
17. G. Chepp, (PH, 9).
18. G.R. Campbell, (PB, 9).
8 November
19. W.P. Palmer, (PH, 18).

1820

8 June
1. E.M. Gordon, (PH, 12).
9 June
2. T.R. Davidson, (PH, 32).
10 June
3. C.R. Carlwright, (PB, 18).
12 June
4. A.W. Begbei, (PH, 5).
5. J. Shaw, (PB, 15).
6. G. Lindsay, (PH, 33).
22 June
7. J. Davidson, (PH, 5).
17 July
8. J. Lamb, (PB, 22).

18 September
9. E. Millett, (PH, U).
26 September
10. R.D. Maughles, (PH, 11).
27 September
11. J. Anderson, (PH, 8).
12. E. Beadford, (PH, 8).
28 September
13. I. Lowes, (PH, 28).
6 November
14. S. Davis, (PH, U).
15. G. Udny, (PH, 5).
10 November
15. W.I. Connolly, (PH, 7).
12 November
16. R.J. Moore, (PH, 10).
13 November
17. W.H. Benson, (PH, 9).
14 November
18. C.B. Belliot, (PH, 5).
19 November
19. S.G. Palmer, PH, 22).
20 November
20. G.J. Brown, (PH, 22).

1821

11 January
1. R.N. Hamilton, (PH, 51).
19 February
2. I. Venn, (PH, 4).
21 February
3. L. Kennaway, (PH, 5).
2 March
4. C. Thompson, (PH, 15).
29 May
5. E.V. Schaleh, (APB, 6).
6. I.G. Deeds, (PH, 20).
4 July
7. H. Ricketts, (PH, 20).
8. S. Panton, (PH, 15).
9 July
9. G.W. Bacon, (PH, 16).
2 October
10. J.A. Irwin, (PH, 6).
11. I.A. Dorin, (PH, 2).
5 October
12. S. Fraser, (PH, 8).
9 October
13. E.P. Smith, (PH, 3).
10 October
14. H. Lushington, (PH, 28).

1822

21 January
1. W.B. Jackson, (PH, 8).
23 January
2. G.I. Taylor, (PH, 30).
5 June
3. R. Udney, (PH, 6).
27 June
4. G. Gough, (PH, 17).
1 July
5. J.H. Patton, (PH, 11).
2 July
6. J.A.F. Hawkins, (PH, 5).
31 July
7. A. Prinsep, (PH, 4).
23 August
8. H. Morris, (PH, 9).
26 August
9. I.S. Clarke, (PB, 21).
10. B. Golding, (PH, 21).
11. E. Harding, (PH, 22).
12. E.C. Ravenshaw, (PH, 3).
11 October
13. I.F. Cathcart, (PH, 19).
30 December
14. I. Thomason, (APH, 5).

1823

2 January

1. M.I. Turney, (PH, 11).

6 January

2. H. Fraser, (PH, 15).
3. F. Gouldsbury, (PH, 11).

26 February

4. E.P. Thompson, (H, 2).

17 May

5. E. Decdes, (PH, 18).

1 October

6. J.J. Harvey, (PH, 4).
7. J. Delancy, (PH, 8).

13 October

8. J. Hare, (PB, U).
9. E.V. Hathorn, (PH, 10).
10. R.W. Barlow, (APH, 7).

27 October

11. A. Grant, (PH, 13).

20 November

12. G.R. Paul, (PH, 14).

1824

17 May

1. F.Q. Wells, (PH, 12).

26 May

2. J.S. Lushington, (PH, 2).
3. I. Dunber, (PH, 9).
4. D.B. Morrison, (PB, 8).
5. E. Currie, (PH, 6).

9 June

6. R. Neaves, (PH, 10).

19 June

7. R. Walker, (PH, 5).

22 June

8. E.L. Campbell, (PH, 8).

2 August

9. C.W. Truscott, (PH, 9).

11 October

10. T.B. Beale, (PH, 7).
11. F.J. Becher, (PH, 20).
12. J.W. Alexander, (PH, 4).
13. R. Forrins, (PH, 14).

14 October

14. W.H. Tyler, (PH, 11).

15 October

15. W.R. Kennaway, (PH, 24).
16. W. Ogilvy, (PH, 24).

28 October

17. T. Taylor, (PH, 12).

2 November

18. H. Stainforth, (PB, 15).

13 November

19. Pidcock, (PB, 6).

16 November

20. C.G. Udney, (PB, 6).

18 November

21. G. Alexander, (PB, 13).

18 November

22. G.H. Smith, (PB, 26).

1825

2 April

1. W.A. Edmonstone, (PB, 4).

17 May

2. C. Bury, (PB, 16).

21 May

3. H.P.M. Gordon, (PB, 11).

27 May

4. R.C. Plowden, (PB, U).

11 June

5. F.J. Halliday, (PB, 8).

13 June

6. G.J.B. Lawrell, (PB, 12).

12 August

7. D. Pringle, (PB, 16).

15 September

8. W. Crawford, (PH, 9).

20 September

9. A.C. Herland, (PH, 11).

6 October
10. A. Ried, (PH, 11).
7 October
11. C. Garstin, (PH, 8).
7 October
12. G.F. Lushington, (PH, 4).
22 October
13. A. Spiers, (PH, 15).
22 October
14. W.H. Woodcock, (PH, 26).
18 November
15. G. Brunt, (PB, U).
29 November
16. R.J. Porter, (PH, U).
29 November
17. H. Armstrong, (PH, 10).

1826

10 January
1. I. Grant, (PB, 15).
27 February
2. G.J. Thompson, (PH, 5).
13 March
3. J.R. Colvin, (PHB, 3).
16 May
4. A.I.M. Mills, (PB, 7).
21 May
5. I.P. Gubbins, (PB, 5).
31 May
6. B. Fitzgerald, (PB, 10).
26 June
7. C.C. Jackson, (PH, 7).
26 June
8. E.A. Reade, (PH, U).
26 June
9. W.S. Alexander, (PB, 13).
26 June
10. H. Brownlow, (PB, 13).
7 July
11. R.H. Hughes, (PB, U).
10 July
12. A.P. Currie, (PB, U).
6 September
13. A.P. Martin, (PB, 10).
20 September
14. S.G. Smith, (PH, 20).
22 September
15. C.G. Munsell, (PH, 5).
21 October
16. C.E. Trevelyan, (PH, 2).
23 October
17. C.M. Caldecott, (PB, 3).
23 October
18. G.M. Batten, (PB, 2).
23 October
19. E.C. Wilmot, (PB).
5 December
20. C.R. Tulloh, (PH, 18).
6 December
21. M. Read, (PB, 12).
6 December
22. F. Cardew, (PB, 16).
8 December
23. R. Loughman, (PH, 8).
15 December
24. A. Lang, (PB, U).
15 December
25. I.G. Travers, (PB, 16).

1827

4 January
1. R.R. Stuart, (PH, U).
2. J.E. Read, (PH, U).
5 January
3. W. Hare, (PB, 11).
4. J.B. Ogilvy, (PH, 12).
6 January
5. E.F. Barlow, (PB, U).
22 January
6. J.C. Dick, (PB, U).

23 January
7. D. Home, (PH, 8).
3 February
8. Hon'ble R. Forbes, (PB, 8).
10 April
9. R.C. Halkett, (PB, 8).
15 May
10. R. Butler, (PB, U).
21 May
11. A.N. Udney, (PB, 4).
12. R. Trotter, (PB, U).
13. E.W. Taylor, (PH).
14. F.C. Scott, (PB, 7).
25 May
15. A. Fraser, (PH, 9).
16 J.C. Grant, (PH, U).
26 May
17. E. Bentall, (PH, U).
4 June
18. W.S.W. Quilon, (PB, U).
19. M. McMohon, (PB, 12).
6 June
20. R.E. Canlesse, (PH, U).
9 June
21. R.H. Mylton, (PB, 7).
11 June
22. W. Bracken, (PB, 7).
23. W.H. Martin, (PH, 9).
24. H.N. Deane, (PB, U).
12 June
25. T. Bruce, (PH, 7).
26. C. Mackezic, (PH, 7).
13 June
27. P. Fancis, (PB, U).
28. H.F. James, (PH, U).
16 June
29. D.C. McLeod, (PB, 13).
30. T.P. Woodcock, (PB, 12).
19 June
31. A.W.C. Plowden, (PB, U).
9 July
32. R. Grote, (PHB, 7).
10 July
33. G.M. Bird, (PB, U).
14 August
34. J.C. Erskine, (PB, U).
35. Raikes, (PB, U).
22 September
36. C. Allen, (PB, U).
25 September
37. E. Smyth, (PH, U).
29 October
38. H.M. Elliot, (APH, 7).
39. G. Battye, (PH, U).
40. T. Sandys, PH, U).
41. W.J.H. Money, (PH, U).
31 October
42. W. Luke, (PB, U).
43. S.S. Harper, (PB, U).
10 December
44. A.F. Donnelly, (PB, U).
11 December
45. R. Renny, (PB, U).
24 December
46. W.A. Law, (PB, U).
26 December
47. S.S. Brown, (APH, 2).

1828

10 January
1. W.R. Timins, (PB, U).
2. G. Todd, (PB, U).
29 January
3. J. Lean, (PB, U).
4. G.F. Harvey, (PB, U).
5. E.V. Garvin, (PB, U).
6. C.G. Drummond, (PB, U).
30 January
7. E.J. Tyler, (U).

4 February
8. F.G. Comish, (U).
9. G. Adams, (U).
10. C.J. Davidson, (U).

30 April
11. J.I.C. Plowden, (U).

26 May
12. E. Wilmot, (U).

28 May
13. I.I.W. Tamton, (PB, U).

11 June
14. J. Muir, (PB, U).
15. N.A.E. Prowett, (PH, U).

12 June
16. M. Blake, (PB, U).
17. N.B. Edmonstone, (PH, U).
18. R.H.P. Clarke, (PB, U).
19. W.S. Donnithorne, (PB, U).

The following names have been collected from the Reports of Examiners. These students passed in the languages mentioned against their names in 1829 and 1830.

1829

Passed in Hindi only
Macintosh
Money
Grant
Woodcock
Hepburn
Sionee
Crawford
Todd.

Passed in Bengali only
Coles
Goad
Money
Wilson
Lowth
Travers
Trotter
Young.

Passed in Persian only
Raikes
Morgan

Passed in Persian and Hindi
Thomson
Cumine
Hunter.

Passed in Persian and Bengali
Gilmore
Mason
Smith
Rose
Moreland
Shakespeare.

1830

Passed in Hindi only
Timins
Raikes
Crawford.

Passed in Bengali only
Travers
Bidwell
Gaitskell.

Passed in Persian only
Wilson.

Passed in Persian and Bengali
Lawrence
Reid
Dick
Malcolm
Hamilton.

Passed in Persian and Hindi
Campbell
Benett.

Passed in Persian, Hindi and Bengali
Carruthers.

APPENDIX D

SUBJECTS FOR PUBLIC DISPUTATIONS AND DECLAMATIONS IN THE COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM 1802-1814

6 February 1802

Persian: An academic institution in India is advantegeous to the natives and to the British nation.

Hindustani: The Hindoostanee language is the most generally useful in India.

Bengali: The Asiatics are capable of as high a degree of civilization as the Europeans.

29 March 1803

Persian: The natives of India under the British Government enjoy a greater degree of tranquility, security and happiness than under any former government.

Hindustani: The suicide of Hindoo widows by burning themseleves with the bodies of their deceased husbands is a practice repugnent to the natural feelings, and inconsistent with moral duty.

Bengali: The distribution of Hindoos into customs, retard their progress in improvement.

20 September 1804

Persian: The poems of Hafiz are to be understood in a figurative or mystical sense.

Hindustani: The Sanskrit is the parent language of India.

Bengali: The translation of the best works in the Sanskrit into popular languages of India would promote the extension of science and civilization.

Arabic: The Study of the Arabic is essentially necessary to the attainment of a grammatical knowledge of the Persian Language.

9 February 1805

Persian: The Persian Language is of more utility in the general

administration of the British Empire in India than thc Hindoostanee.

Hindustani: The Oriental languages are studied with more success in India than in England and with greater advantage to the Public Service.

Bengali
Arabic Declamations.
Marathi

8 March 1806

Persian: The Persian Language is not to be studied so much for any knowledge to be acquired by it of oriental literature as to furnish medium of communication with the natives of the British territories.

Hindustani: Knowledge of the Asiatic languages is of greater advantages to the public service in India than any other branch of learning. (Declamation)

Arabic: Praise of the Arabic Language. (Declamation)

Marathi: Fall of the Marhatta Empire. (Declamation)

2 March 1807

Persian: The study of logic is useful towards the investigation of Truth.

Hindustani: In the study of an Asiatic language the primary object should be not the acquiring of words only but a thorough knowledge of its peculiarities in construction, idiom and usage.

Bengali: A knowledge of the Bengali language is of great importance for the transaction of public business in Bengal.

27 February 1808

Persian: The Persian language merits attention not only on account of its utility, but also from the beauties of the composition in that language.

Hindustani: In the acquirement of knowledge genius cannot avail without applications.

Bengali: The natives of Bengal are happier under the British than they were under any former Government.

18 February 1809

Persian: For the acquirement of a critical knowledge in the Persian language, the study of Rhetoric is required as well as that of Grammar.

Hindustani: The diversity of climate, not any difference in the original constitution of the human understanding, is the cause of a dissimilarity between the productions of European and Oriental genius.

Bengali: An accurate knowledge of the manners and geniuses of the Hindoos is to be acquired by an attentive examination of their written compositions.

Arabic: The Arabic language stands more in need of the aides to be derived from the art of printing than any other Oriental tongue.

15 September 1810

Persian: Independent of its utility, there is sufficient inducement to the study of Persian language with a view to Asiatic literature.

Hindustani: The interests of general knowledge would be promoted by encouraging men of education and learning in Europe and India, to study the works of science and literature which both countries have produced.

Bengali: The system of Government established in Bengal is calculated to secure the property and promote the welfare of the native inhabitants.

7 August 1811

Persian: The difficulties of translation between the English and Persian languages are far greater than between the former and any other languages of Europe.

Hindustani: The art of printing affords the only means of perpetuating the history of nation with truth and accuracy and of transmitting to posterity the benefit of improvement in science and literature.

Bengali: The advancement of mankind in the arts and comforts of civil life is principally to be attributed to the operation and maintainece of Commerce and Navigation.

30 September 1812

Persian: The Hindoostanee being merely a colloquial language, is not so much an object of critical acquirement as the Persian.

Hindustani: The Hindoostanee is the language of most extensive use for the purpose of colloquial intercourse in Hindoostan.

Bengali: The Bengali is the purest of those languages which are derived from the Sanskrit.

20 September 1813

Persian: The uniformity observable in the history of the nations of the East is to be attributed to the influences of climate and situation.

Hindustani: The Arts, Sciences and general literatures, are better cultivated and more widely diffused throughout Hindoostan, than in any other Asiatic State.

Bengali: The oriental style of composition is more characteristics of a particular age, than of a particular country.

Sanskrit: On the elegence and precision of the Sanskrit language. (Declamation)

20 June 1814

Persian: Persian literature has been less cultivated in its native country than in India.

Hindustani: The Hindoostanee language from its various origin and composition is calculated to be more copious than any other language current in India.

Bengali: The study of Sanskrit by the learned nation of Bengal has occasioned the Bengali language to be neglected.

Sanskrit: The Greek system of philosopy are derived from the Hindoos.

Arabic: The Arabs appear to have studied with considerable success the abstract science as taught in the schools of the ancient philosophers and their system of Logic and Rhetoric in the excellence of their technical arrangement are superior to the best received system of modern times.

APPENDIX E

Books Published by the Various Departments of the College of Fort William in and on Different Oriental Languages

Arabic

1. *Arabic Syntax*, J. Baillie. 1801 (?). It was composed solely for the students in the College. It treats of Arabic Inflection in all its parts and as an elementary class book, it was considered very useful.
2. *Miut Amil, Shurhoo Miut Amil, Misbah*, 1802.
   Hidayu-toon-Nuha, 1803.
   Kafiyu of Ibn Hajib, 1805.
   These are grammatical works published in three volumes, edited by Baillie, based on five celebrated Arabic grammars, carefully collated with the most ancient authentic manuscripts available in India.
3. *Shumsool Looghat*, 1806.
   A dictionary of Arabic and Persian words. Compiled by the Indian scholars in the College under the supervision of Joseph Barretto, Jr.
4. *Moontu khub ool Looghat*, 1808.
   Dictionary of Arabic words with Persian translation according to the authority of celebrated Arabic lexicons such as *Qamoos*, *Kunz*, *Suhah*, *Moohuzzub* etc. Revised by Maulavi Allah Dad and others.
5. *Muqamat Hureeree*, I, 1809, II, 1812.
   The book contains fifty stories relating to the adventures of Abu Zaed of Saruj, collected from different Arabic manuscripts. Compiled and collected by Maulavi Allah Dad and Jan Ali.
6. *Mishkatool Musabeeh*, 1809.
   A collection of authentic traditions regarding the actions and sayings of the prophet Mahammad in two volumes.
   Translated from Arabic into English by Captain A.N.

Mathews, Bengal artillery.

7. *Nufhutool Yumun*, 1811.
An Arabic miscellaney of composition in prose and verse. Compiled by Sheikh Ahmmad bin Mohammad ul and others.

8. *Ikhwan-oos sufa*, 1812.
Revised and edited by Sheikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Shirwani ul Yamani.

9. *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 1813.
M. Lumsden.

10. *Hudeequt ool Ufrah* or the *Garden of Pleasure*, 1813.
A collection of prose and poems, mostly biographical, written by Arab writers. Compiled by Sheikh Ahmad.

11. *Ul Mookhtuusur*, 1813.
Comprising the text of *Tulkheesool*. A book on Rhetoric. Prepared by Jalaluddin Muhammad and printed under the inspection of Maulavi Jan Ali.

12. *Ul Ujub-ool-oojab*, 1813.
A collection of letters in Arabic. Introduction to the art of letter-writing. Compiled and composed by Sheikh Ahmad and others.

13. *Deewan-ool-Mootunubee*, 1814.
Poems. Corrected and edited by Sheikh Ahmad.

14. *Ulfoo Luelu*, I, 1814, II, 1818.
Stories. Revised and edited by Sheikh Ahmad.

15. *Miut Amil and Shurhoo Miut Amil*, on Arabic Syntax, 1814.
Translated from the original Arabic by A. Lockett.

16. *The Suhah*, 1815.
Dictionary in two volumes. Revised by the munshis of the College.

17. *The Qootbee*, 1815.
A book on logic written by Qutubuddin and revised by M. Lumsden.

18. *Qamoos or the Ocean*, 1817.
Dictionary in two volumes. Prepared by Mujduddin Muhammad Obbnu yuaqub of Firozabad. Corrected and revised by Sheikh Ahmad.

19. *Quseedu*, 1818.
One of the most celebrated Arabic poems. Written by Ibni Zuhir. Commentary by Sheikh Ahmad.

20. *The History of Teemoor*, 1818.
Originally written by Ahmad bin Muhammad of Damascus. Revised by Sheikh Ahmad.

Bengali

1. *Dialogues Intended to Facilitate the acquiring of the Bengalee Language*, 1801.
William Carey.
2. *A Grammar of the Bengalee Language*, 1801.
William Carey.
3. *Raja Pratapaditya Charitra*, 1801.
Ramram Basu.
4. *The Butrisha Singhasun*, 1802.
Mrityunjay Vidyalamkar.
A collection of stories translated from Sanskrit.
5. *Hitopadesh*, 1802.
Golaknath Sharma.
Translated from the Sanskrit *Hitopadesha*.
6. *Lipimala*, 1802.
Ramram Basu.
Specimens of letters.
7. *Mahabharat*, 1802.
An edition of Kashiram Das's Mahabharat published by the Serampore Mission Press. It was not sponserd by the College of the Fort William but the College bought 100 copies of the book to encourage the undertaking.
8. *Ramayana*, 1802.
An edition of Krittibas Ojha's Ramayana published by the Serampore Mission Press. The College bought 100 copies of it.
9. *Old and New Testament* (in Bengali).
Parts of it were used as text-books in the College. The College bought 100 copies of the third part of the Old Testament 'Dauder git' and paid Rs 680/- to William Carey.
10. *Maharaj Krishnachandra Rayasya Charitram*, 1805.
Rajib Lochan Mukhopadhyay.
Biography of Krishnachandra, the Raja of Krishnanagar.
11. *Tota Itihas*, 1805.
Chandi Charan Munshi.
Translated from the Persian *Tuti Nameh* by Qadir Bukhs.

12. *Hitopadesh*, 1808.
    Mrityunjay Vidyalamkar.
    Translated from Sanskrit.
13. *Itihasmala*, 1812.
    A collection of stories and anecdotes compiled by William Carey.
14. *The Bengalee English Dictionary*, 1815.
    William Carey.
15. *Purush Pariksa*, 1815.
    Haraprasad Ray.
    Translated from the Sanskrit *Purusha Pariksa* of Vidyapati.
16. *Hitopadesh*, 1808.
    Ramkishor Tarkacuramani.
    Translated from Sanskrit.
17. *A Vocabulary Bengalee and English*, 1810.
    Mohan Prasad Thakur.
18. *Betal Panchavinshati*, 1847.
    Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar.
    Translated from Hindi.

Burmese

1. *A Comparative Vocabulary of the Burma, Mulayee and Thaee Languages*, 1810.
   John Leyden.

Chinese

1. *Elements of Chinese Grammar*, 1814.
   J. Marshman.
   It also contains the Ta Hyoh of confusius with a translation.
2. *A Grammar of the Chinese Language*, 1815.
   Robert Morrision.

Hindustani
(Urdu and Hindi)

1. *The Strangers' East India Guide to the Hindoostanee*, 1802.
   J.B. Gilchrist.
   This is an improvement on Gilchrist's grammar published earlier.
2. *The Hindi Dictionary*, 1802.
   J.B. Gilchrist.

3. *Dialogues: English and Hindoostanee*, 1802?
J.B. Gilchrist.
4. *Baghi oordoo*, 1802.
Bagh-i-urdu is a translation from Saadi's *Gulistan* by Mir Sher Ali Afsos.
5. *The Hindi Manual or Casket of India*, 1802.
Prepared by Mir Bahadur Ali Husain and others under the direction of Gilchrist. The book contains *Ukhlaqi Hindee* of Mir Bahadur.Ali Husain, *Mursia* of Mir Abdullah Miskan, *Singhasan Batteesee* of Mirza Kazim Ali and others, and also *Shakuntala*, *Totakahanee*, *Bagh o Bahar* etc.
6. *The Oriental Fabulist*, 1803.
J.B. Gilchrist.
Multilingual book. Languages used are Arabic, Persian, Bengali, Sanskrit, Urdu and Brajbhasha and English. Prepared with the help of the Munshis in the College.
7. *Nuqliyati Hindee or the Hindi Story Teller*, 1803.
Fables compiled by Gilchrist. Second edition 1806.
8. *Nusuri Benuzeer*, 1803.
A fairy tale by Mir Husain.
9. *Ukhlaqi Hindee*, 1803.
Diadectic tales from Hitopadesh by Mir Bahadur Ali.
10. *Gooli Bukawulee*, 1804.
Nihalchand.
11. *Tota Kuhanee*, 1804.
Translated from Persian by Sayed Hayder and Bukhsh Haydari.
12. *Bagh o Bahar*, 1804.
Translated from Persian by Mir Aman. Second edition 1813.
13. *Hidayut-ul-Islam*, Vol. I. 1804.
A book of prayers. Translated from Arabic under the supervision of Gilchrist. Vol. II. was never printed.
14. *Buetal Puchesee*, 1805.
Muzhar Ali Khan and Sri Lallulal Kub. A book of tales.
15. *Singhasun Buttese*, 1805.
Translated from Brajbhasha to Urdu. Brajabhasha version was by Sundar Kavishwar. Translated by Mirza Kazim Ali Juvan and Lallujilal.
16. *New Testament*, 1805.
Translated from English by some of the munshis in the

College. Revised by W. Hunter.

17. *Sihrool buyan*, 1805.
Story of Benazir, a mythical prince.
18. *Dictionary of Hindi and English*, 1808.
Capt. Joseph Taylor. Originally composed by Taylor for his private use. Revised by W. Hunter.
19. *Araish-i-Muhfil*, 1808.
A history of Hindu kings written by Mir Sher Ali Afsos.
20. *Rajneeti*, 1809.
Translated from Sanskrit Hitopadesha into Brajbhasha by Lallujilal.
21. *Sutsuee of Biharilal*, 1809.
Hindi poems edited by Baburam Pandit.
22. *Prem Sagur*, 1810.
Translated from the tenth chapter of Bhagavat into Khari Boli by lallujilal.
23. *Surfi Oordoo*, 1810.
A short Grammar of Hindustani in verse by Maulavi Amanatullah.
24. *Lutifi Hindee*, 1810.
Collection of humorous stories, proverbs etc. in Nagari and Persian characters.
25. *Deewani Meer Soz*, 1810.
Poems of Mir Soz. Compiled by Muhammad Aslam exculsively for the use in the class.
26. *Intikhabi Suoda*, 1810.
Selections from Mirza Rafiaus saoda. This was also prepared by the munshis of the Hindustani department for the exclusive use in the class.
27. *Koolliyati Meer Tyqee*, 1811.
The works of Mir Muhammad Taqi edited by Mirza Kazim Ali, Mirza Jan Tupish, Mahammad Aslam, and Munshi Golam Akbar.
28. *General Principles of Inflection and conjugation in Braj Bhasha*, 1811.
29. *Ramayan*, 1811.
Tulsidas. Printed at Sanskrit Press by Baburam Pandit.
30. *Ikhwanoos Sufa*, 1811.
Translated from Arabic by Maulavi Ikram Ali.

31. *An English and Hindi Naval Dictionary*, 1811.
T. Roebuck.
32. *Gooli Mughfirut*, 1812.
Ecclesiastical History. An account of the Muslims called *suhada* from the time of the death of Husain at Karbala.
33. *Barah Masha*, 1812.
A description of different seasons in verse by Mirza Kazim Ali Juvan.
34. *Subha Bilash*, 18.
Printed at the Sanskrit Press. Edited by Lallujilal.
35. *A Vocabulary: Khuree Bolee and English*, 1814.
A lexicon of words occuring in the Prem Sagar. Compiled by W. Price.
36. *Khirud Ufroz*, 1815.
Translated from Persian *Uyar Danish* of Abul Fazal by Maulavi Hafizuddin Ahmad. Revised and compared with Persian by T. Roebuck.
37. *The Hindi-Roman Orthoepigraphical Ultimatum*, 1804, second ed. 1820.
J.B. Gilchrist. This book attempts to give "a systematic discriminative view of Oriental and Occidental visible sounds on fixed and Practical principles for languages of East".

Kannada

1. *A Grammar of the Kurnataka Language*, 1817.
William Carey.

Marathi

1. *A Grammar of the Murhatta Language*, 1805.
William Carey.
"Familiar dialogues" were also added to this grammar.
2. A *Dictionary of the Murhatta Language*, 1810.
William Carey.
3. *Singhasun Butteesee*, 1814.
Translated by Vaidyanath Pandit most probably from the Bengali *Batris Sinhasun*.
4. *The History of Raja Pratapaditya*, 1816.
Translated from Ramram Basu's Bengali work *Raja Pratapaditya Charitra* by Vaidyanath Pandit.

5. *The Genealogy of Raghoojee Bhosla*, 1816.
   Vaidyanath Pandit.
6. A *Collection of original letters in the Marhutta Language*, 1816.
   Compiled by William Carey.

Oriya

1. *Oriya English Vocabulary*, 1812.
   Mohan Prasad Thakur.

Panjabi

1. A *Grammar of the Panjabi Language*, 1812.
   William Carey.

Persian

1. *Persian Guide*, 1802 (?).
   Francis Gladwin. Elementary Grammar for the students at the College.
2. *Persian Munshi*, 1802 (?).
   Francis Gladwin. Elementary Persian syntax and Arabic grammar.
3. *Unwari Soohuelee*, 1805.
   Written in the fifteenth century by Mullah Husein waiza Khalifi. A book of fables. Printed under the superintendence of Major Charles Stewart.
4. *Hidayu*, I and II, 1807, III and IV, 1808.
   Translated from Arabic. A compendium of Islamic law. Edited by Maulavi Muhammad Rashid.
5. *Mujmooue Shumsee*, 1807.
   Translated from Arabic. A concise view of the Copernican system of Astronomy. Maulavi Abdul Khair under the superintendence of W. Hunter.
6. Miscellaneous Works of Prose and Verse:
   Vol. I. Sections of *Ukhlaqi*, *Moohsinee* and *Zuleekha*, 1809.
   Vol. II. Sections of *Goolistan* and *Boostan*, 1809.
   Vol. III. Sections of *Buhari Danish* and *Deewani Sundi*, 1809.
   Vol. IV. Sections of *Inshae ubool Fuzl* and *Sikundur nama*, 1810.
   Vol. V. *Ukhlaqi Julalee* and *Luelee* and *Mujnoon* of Amir Khusrau, 1811.

Vol. VI. *Rooqati Jamee* and *Soobhutool Ubrar*, 1811.

7. *Dubistani Muzahib*, 1809.
The book is about different religions of the world. Written by Sheikh Muhammad Muhsin whose pen-name was *Fani*. Edited by Maulavi Nazar Ashraf.
8. *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, 1810.
M. Lumsden.
9. *Sirajeeyu*, 1811.
Translated from Arabic. Law of succession and inheritence. Translated by Mufti Muhammad Rashid.
10. *The Shahnama*, Vol. I. 1811.
11. *Sikandar Nama*, 1812.
A short epic written by Nizami. This was published by Badar Ali and Mir Husein Ali with a selection from the works of wellknown commentators.
12. *Khoolasut-ool-Hisab*, 1812.
A book on arithmetic and geometry written in Arabic by Bahauddin of Amul in Syria. Translated into Persian by Maulavi Roshan Ali. Revised and edited by Tarini Charan Mitra, Maulavi Jan Ali and Golam Akbar.
13. *Museeri Talibee*, 1812.
Travels in Europe by Mirza Abu Talib Khan in 1795. This was translated into English by Captain Stewart of Hertford College. Edited by Husain Ali and Mir Qudrat Ali under the supervision of H.H. Wilson.
14. *Kitabool Junayatohudood*, 1813.
Translated from Futaveel Alumgeeree, by Qazee-ool-koozat of Calcutta. Originally written by Muhammad Najmuddin Khan.
15. *Haqiiq-ool-Bulaghut*, 1814.
The title means 'the Bower of eloquence'. Written by Mir Shamsuddin Faqir of Delhi. Published by Maulavi Jan Ali and Abdur Rahman.
16. *Boorhani Qatiu*, 1818.
Dictionary. Orginally compiled by Muhammad Husain Ibni Khalif of Tabrize. Prepared by T. Roebuck with the help of Maulavi Karim, Tarini Charan Mitra, Hayder Ali, Nizamuddin, Golam Qadir and few others in the College. A short grammar of Persian was prefixed to it.

17. *Hatim Taee*, 1818?
Corrected and published under the supervision of James Atkinson.
18. *Shoohrab*, 1820?
Translated into English from Persian by James Atkinson.

Sanskrit

1. *A Grammar of the Sunskrit Language*, 1805.
H.T. Colebrooke.
2. *A Grammar of the Sunskrit Language*, 1806.
W. Carey.
3. *Hitopadesha*, 1806.
Translated by H.T. Colebrooke to which are added *Dashakumara Charitra* abridged by Upyuyyu and the three *shatakas* by Bhatrihari.
4. *Ramayana*, I, 1806, II, 1808, III, 1810.
A prose translation by W. Carey and J. Marshman.
5. *Mooghdha Bodha*, 1807.
Published by Serampore Mission in Bengali characters.
6. *Hemachandra Kosha*, 1807.
7. *Amara Kosha, Trikanda sea, Medini and Haravali*, four original vocabularies, 1807.
Published in Nagari Characters.
8. *Amara Kosha*, 1808.
Edited by T. Colebrooke.
9. *Gita Govinda*, 1808.
10. *Bhagavat Gita*, 1809.
11. *The Grammatical Sutras or Aphorisms of Panini*, 1809.
12. *An Essay on the Principles of the Sunskrit*, 1810.
H.P. Forster.
13. *Siddhanta Kaumudi*, 1812.
A standard Sanskrit Grammar by Bhattaji Dikshita. Printed in Nagari.
14. *Mitakshara*, 1812.
Commentary on the legal work of Yagnavalkya. Text printed in Nagari.
15. *Manusamhita*, 1813.
Original text with commentary of Kulluka. Bhatta Printed in Nagari.

16. *Dayabhag*, 1813.
    Written by Jimutavahana. A book on the law of inheritence. Printed in Nagari.
17. *Meghaduta*, 1813.
    A long poem by Kalidasa. Translated into English by H.H. Wilson.
18. *Naladaya*, 1814.
    It was formerly translated by Faizi into Persian verse under the name Jalaluddin. The Nala story of the Mahabharata, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, had continued to be the used for the beginners-course in Sanskrit in Western countries.
19. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1815-1818.
    Prepared by H.H. Wilson.
20. *Vira Mitraday*, 1815.
    A legal work of Mitra Mitra. Printed in Nagari.
21. *Magha Kavya*, 1815.
    Poems of wellknown Sanskrit poet Magha. Edited by Vidyakar Misra and Shyamlal Pandit. Commentary of Mallinatha was included.
22. *Kiratarjuniyam*, 1815.
    An epic by Bharavi. Text printed in Nagari.
23. *Dattaka Mimansa and Dattaka Chandrika* 1817,
    Legal treatise relating the problems of adoption.
24. *Dayakrama Samgraha*, 1818.
    A book on laws of inheritence. Translated into English by P.M. Wynch.

Telugu

1. *A Grammar of the Tilungu Language*, 1814.
   William Carey.

APPENDIX F

Non-Indian Languages and the College of Fort William

Pushtu

A Munshi for Pushtu was appointed in 1800 who translated the Hindi *Story Teller* in 1806. Lord Minto in his annual address in in 1808 emphasized the importance of this language, obviously from a military point of view. From his speech it is known that one Amir Mohammad, a native of Peshawar compiled a dictionary of Pushtu at the instance of Hunter. Nawab Mohabbat Khan wrote a grammar of Pushtu and compiled a lexicon in 1810 which was praised by Leyden and patronised by the College. (HM 561, p. 293f). The College also bought several copies of Amir Mohammad's Dictionary and a grammar of the Afgan language (HM 565, pp. 158-9).

Nepali and Bhutani

From a letter of A. Lockett dt. 14 April 1820 (HM 566, pp. 106-7) it is known that one I.A. Ayton proposed to write a grammar of Nepali and Newari and when it was published the College bought 500 copies of the book. One Kisen Kunt Bhose (Krishna Kanta Bose ?) who was deputed on a mission to Bhutan by the magistrate of Rangpur in 1815-16 wrote a grammar of the Bhutanese language and asked for help from the College. Carey recommended the publication of the grammar.

Burmese and Malaya

Hunter prepared a Burmese and Malaya vocabulary (HM 561, p. 345). Leyden wrote a paper on Malaya and translated some writings from that language. The College took some interest in Burmese also which was seriously studied by Felix Carey, the gifted son of William Carey, at Serampore Mission.

Turkish

Abdur Rahman prepared a vocabulary of Turkish words which occured in the writings of Persian authors under the title *Risalah Fuzl Ilakhan.* The College bought 250 copies of this book. (HM 568, p. 16).

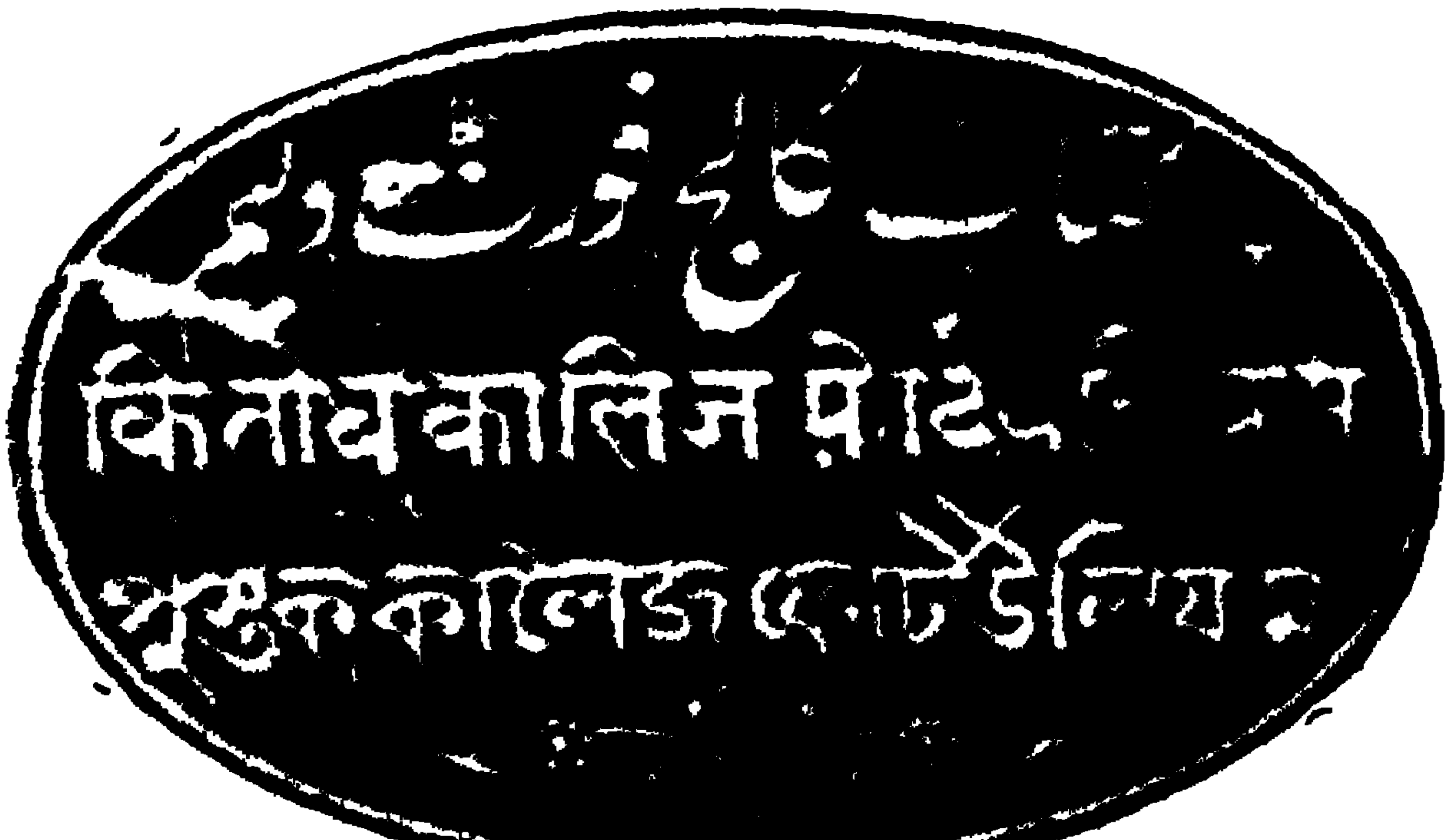
Chinese

The Serampore Mission is the pioneer of Chinese studies in India. Joshua Marshman learnt Chinese and he translated writings of Confucius in 1809. It contained the original text and he added an account of Chinese grammar and writing system to this book. The main interest of Marshman was to translate the Bible into Chinese. He translated the Gospel according to St. John in 1813 and the old Testament in 1822. On 31 January 1811 Marshman wrote a letter to the College Council asking for patronage for the study of Chinese and also for the publication of the Works of Confucius (HM 561, p. 466). The College Council helped him generously.

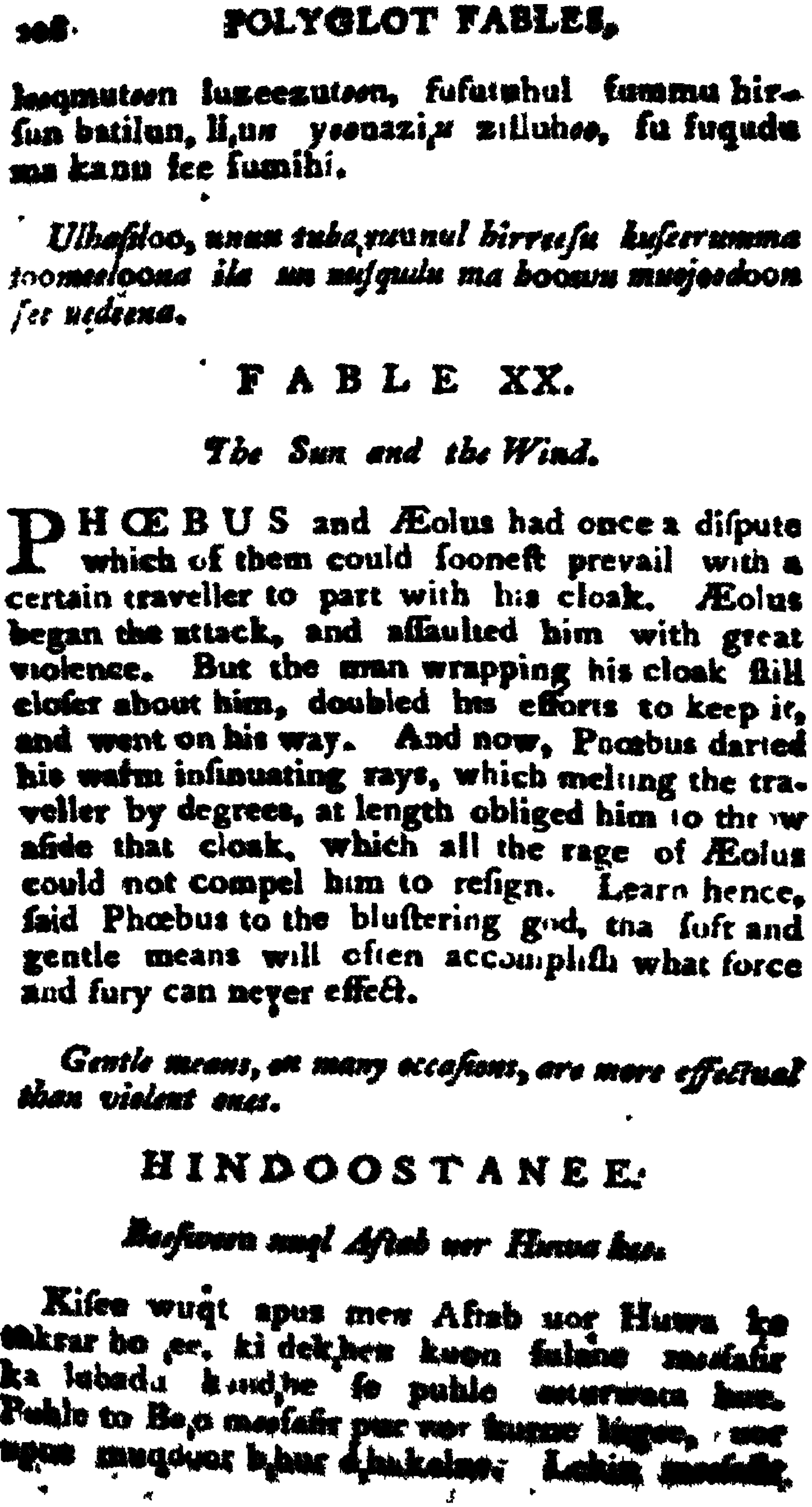
Illustrations

हे महाशय

यः शिष्यो यस्यां भाषायां वाक्यानि कथयामास तस्य तद्भाषा नैपुण्यं यत् पर्य्यन्तं सभायां तद्भाषाचार्य्यस्य तद्विषयकात्म मनोविचारकथनं प्रकटितैतद्वादानुवादस्यैकाव्यवस्थासीत्। तस्मात् त्वं येन रूपेणैतां क्रियामकार्षीः तत्र मम सम्पूर्णा रुचिरिति कथनं एवं तव वाक्यश्रोतारः पण्डिताः त्वत् संस्कृतभाषोच्चारणं यत्तुष्टिं पूर्व्वकमश्रृण्वन् तदपि तुभ्यं कथनं कर्त्तव्यं।



I. Carey's Speech in Sanskrit printed *in* Primitiae Orientales
II. Seal of the College Library



108. POLYGLOT FABLES.

kasqmuteen luzeezuteen, fufutuhul fummu hirfun batilun, li,un yeenazi,u zilluhoo, fu fuqudu ma kanu fee fumihi.

Ulhaqiloo, unum tuba,uuunul birrusfu kuferrumma toomuuloona ila um mufquulu ma boonun mutjeedoon fee nedeena.

F A B L E XX.

The Sun and the Wind.

PHŒBUS and Æolus had once a diſpute which of them could ſooneſt prevail with a certain traveller to part with his cloak. Æolus began the attack, and aſſaulted him with great violence. But the man wrapping his cloak ſtill cloſer about him, doubled his efforts to keep it, and went on his way. And now, Phœbus darted his warm inſinuating rays, which melting the traveller by degrees, at length obliged him to throw aſide that cloak, which all the rage of Æolus could not compel him to reſign. Learn hence, ſaid Phœbus to the bluſtering god, that ſoft and gentle means will often accompliſh what force and fury can never effect.

Gentle means, on many occaſions, are more effectual than violent ones.

HINDOOSTANEE.

Reefwuen muql Aftab wor Huwa kee.

Kiſee wuqt apus men Aftab wor Huwa ke takrar ho,ee, ki dekhen kuon fulane muſafir ka labada [illegible] fo puhle [illegible] hue. Puhle to Ba,o muſafir pur wor [illegible] lagee, wor [illegible] muqdoor bhur [illegible] Lekin muſafir

III (a) Pages from the Oriental Fabulist containing transliteration of a story in different languages.

ne upne lubadeko budun pur khoob lupeta, uor usko deechund zor se t,hamkur chula. Tis peech,he Aftab ne upnee Sheo,uaui gurm uor meowussir ees pur utsee dale, ki oosne ahistu ahistu meesafir ko puseene puseene ki,ya, nidan lubadeke p,henkne pur razee ki,ya, uor yih kam huwa ke sare zor shor se uu hoo,a. P,hir Aftab ne Huwa,e bad furosh se kuha, ki nefee bat se jano, ki jo kam zor uor ghuzub se nuheen ho sukta, oos ko moola,yumut uor nurmee uksur asanee se kur latee hue.

Hasil, moola,yumut buhoot baten men zuburdustee se zi,yadu kam atee hue.

F A R S E E.

Nuqli beestoomi Aftab o Huwa.

Wuqte durmi,yani Aftab o Huwa tukrar shood ki bibeenem ki koodam kus lubadu,e foolan moosafir uwwul uz doshi oo bi,undazud. Nukhoost Bad bur moosafir zor kurdun girift, o ta muqdoori khood lutmu zudun. Umma moosafir lubadu,e khoodra bur budun nek chuspaneed, o oora uz qoowwuti moozaa,uf giriftu ruwan shood. Badi uzan Aftab shoo,ua,ui gurm o moowussiri khoodra bur moosafir humcheeneen undakht, ki oora butudreej urq alood numoodu, akhur bur undakhtuni lubadu razee kurd, o een kar uz tumam zor o shori bad nu shood. Baz Aftab buhuwa,e badfurosh goft, uzeen ja bidaned, kareki uz ghoossu o doorooshtee hasil nu meshu-wud, anra nurmee o moola,yumut beshtur bu,asa-nee mekoonud.

Hasil, moola,yumut dur bisyar ja uz doorooshtee i bukar me,a,yud.

B,H A K,H A.

Beetween kubanee B,hanoo uo Bu,yar kee.

Kahco fumue ... ...hin Rubi uo Puwun kue vivad b,huyo, kue dek,hen ko umook bu-aohee kee ruja,ee k,huwe ten prut,hum ootra-wutoo hue. Puhlen tuo Puwun put,hik pue bul kunni lagee, uo apnen bitt b,hur t,heluni. Bu-rohee ren apnee ruja,ee kuoon ung pue ach,hen lupetyo, uioo doogoone bul ten pukuri kue chulyo. Ta pach,hen Ruvi nen apnee kirun tupt uo prubeshee wapue uesee daree, ki wanen suhuj suhuj put,hik kuon puseena puseena kurikue, nidan ruja,ee p,henkuni pue muna,yo, uo yuh kaj Puwun ke bul ch,hul ten nu b,hu,vo. Pooni Sooruj nen Va,yoo ba,yoob,huk son kuhyo, ki yahee buchun ten jano ki jo karyu bul krod,h son naheen ho sukutoo, wahi mridoolta uo komu-la,ee buhood,ha suhuj son kuri lyawuti hue.

Sid-d,hant, komulta ud,hik batin mahin bul ten buboot kam auuti hue.

B O N G L A.

Bingshoti kot,ha Ruodro o Batasher.

Ek bar Shoorjyo o pebener mod,hye e,i bachosha ho,ilo je dek,hi ke omook pot,hiker reja,ee twora ch,har,ite pare. prot,home Pebon akromo aromb,ho korilek, ebong atisho,yo bege pot,hik ke ruelite lagilo. Kintoo she tatrapi reja,ee aponate b lok,hyon jora,i,ya, taha t,hamibar jonye dwigoon shokti kori,ya, cholite lagilo. Pore Shoorjyo nije mochondo byapoko kiron bistar korilek, taha pot,hik ekreme kreme g,hama,i,ya, shesh reja,i ch,har,i-k, iha Ba,yoo apon shomyok shamort,hete o korite ... nahin. Pore batya debotake Shoorjyo

kohilen, ihate,i hoo ihaha, je kormo l'o'e o kope kok,hono *shid*-d,hi kerite pare na, taha komo' o nomro hetoo *shotot shomponi o* kore.

P,hol, nomrota onek bishoye kop opek,hyo goonckaree iti.

S U *N* S K R I T.

Birshu kut,ha mart,undu Sumeeru,yoh.

Drushtuvyung ko namamamooku put,hikusyu skurd,hat prut,humung to oluvuteem oo'tatu,yuteeu kusmingshchit sumu,ye Martudu Sumeeru-yos swuyos spurd,ha vub,hoovu. Tutru prut,humum Maturishwa pant,hum pruti shuoryung kituvan, poonur nishsheshu shuktya tum upeeru-yut. Put,hikus tutratmee,yan tooluvuteem sumyuk-turenange beshe,hu,yitwa, dwi gaenu purakrumenu tang griheetwa chuchalu. Tud pushchad B,has-kuro niju teekshnu mu,yooshan pruveshinub tum pruti tut,hapatu,yut, yut,ha te shunuish shunuir ud,hwugung swedumu,yung kritwa tooluvuteem kshepu,yamasoob, it-t,hung yut karyung Basor nishsheshu shuktyapi nab,huvut. Tut kritwa B,haskuro brit,ha spurd,hinum Mareetum poonur etud ook'uvan, etud vrittantenu gnyatuvyum, yut karyum bulenotpatenu chu'nu b,huviteem urhuti, tun mridoota num'uta chu una,yasenu kooreetu, iti muntuvyum.

Vuboosboo vrittanteshoo mridoota bulad ud,hikung karyung sad,hu,yuteetyub,hipra,yuh.

U R U B E E.

Ulbika,yutool ishroonu fish Shumsi wul Huwa,i.

Kanu fee wuqtin buenush Shumsi wul Hu-wa,i mktarpo un nura uqna mun yullibool juwa-luqa un kutfil mooftiril foilanee. Fufhuru,ol.

Huwa,oo uwwulun fitumuwwooji alul moofafiri, wu balugou fee tuhreekiha wu lutmiha huttul imkani. Fuluffuul moofafiree joowaluquhoo bi badumbi ghaitool luffi, wantuluqu zabitun luhoo. Sammufh fhumfoo ulqur fhoo,aa,uha alul moofafiri, wu tudurrujut fittafeeri, hutta rufhihul moofiree uuruqun, wu ruzi,u ala un yoolqi,ul loobada bil ukhuruti, fuhufulu malum yuhfool min uffiri wu fhiddutihi, fuqalufh Shumfoo lil Huwa,ifh fhaohibi, yujiboo un tu,alumu min haza unnul umrul luzee la,yuhfooloo minul khooshoonuti was fulabuti yoohuflilooheel leenoo wul moola,yumutoo bitturecqil us,hili.

Ulhafiloo, unnul moola,yumutu fee ukfuril oomoori ufyudoo minul khooshoo,nuti.

F A B L E XXI.

The Wolf and the Mastiff.

A LEAN half-starved Wolf inadvertently strolled in the way of a strong and well-fed Mastiff. The Wolf being much too weak to act upon the offensive, thought it most prudent to accost honest Towser in a friendly manner; and among other civilities, very complaisantly congratulated him on his goodly appearance. Why yes, returned the Mastiff, I am indeed in tolerable case; and if you will follow me, you may soon be altogether in as good a plight. The Wolf pricked up his ears at the proposal, and requested to be informed what he must do to earn such plentiful meals. Very little, replied the Mastiff; only drive away beggars, caress my master, and be civil to his family. To these conditions the hungry Wolf had no objection, and very readily consented to follow his new acquaintance wherever he would conduct him. As they were trotting along, the

III. (*e*) Pages from the Oriental Fabulist

ADDRESS,

BY THE PROFESSOR OF ARABIC TO THE STU-DENTS WHO DECLAIMED IN THE ARABIC LANGUAGE.

اما ما خطبتما الآن واتيتما بالبيان في
فضل العلوم العربية ومدح الفنون
الادبية من خطبة رشيقة محسنة تستملحه
الخطبا ، ونكتة انيقة مزينة تستطرفه
الادبا ، فلقد شنف الفاظها التي
نسجت على منوال الفصاحة اسماع
حضار هذا المحفل العالي واعجب
مضامينها التي اخترعت على منهج

البلاغة قلوب نظار هذا المجلس المتعالي
لا يعرف قدرها الا من اتعب نفسه في
تاليف بين الكلمات ولا يؤدي مهرها الا
من قدر على التمييز بين الغث والسمين
من العبارات ولعمري ان هذا لطف
جسيم من عند واهب العطايا وفضل عظيم
من افضال خالق البرايا فاجتهدا في
طلب العلم يؤتكما الله منه حظا بالغا ولا
تفرطا في تحصيل الكمال تنالا منه قسطا
ما بغا

IV. Speech of Baillie in Arabic printed in *Primitiae Orintales*

PRIMITIÆ ORIENTALES

VOL. III.

CONTAINING THE

THESES

IN THE ORIENTAL LANGUAGES;

PRONOUNCED

AT THE PUBLIC DISPUTATIONS

ON THE 20th SEPT. 1804.

STUDENTS OF THE COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM,
IN BENGAL.

WITH TRANSLATIONS.

CALCUTTA;
1804.

V The Title Page of the *Primitiae Orientales*

consonant is destitute of them, is denoted by a mark at the foot of the letter क् ख् ग् &c.

When consonants are not separated by intervening vowels, they are termed conjunct (संयोग). This may be signified by affixing to the prior consonants the mark abovementioned but it is more usual to employ compound characters denoting such conjunct consonants; as in the following table.

CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

cṅ	c'hṅ	gṅ	ghṅ	ṅc	ṅc'h	ṅg	ṅg'h
	ख्ङ	ग्ङ	घ्ङ	ङ्क	ङ्ख	ङ्ग	ङ्घ
chny	ch'hny	jny	jhny	nch	nch'h	nj	njh
च्ञ	छ्ञ	ज्ञ	झ्ञ	ञ्च	ञ्छ	ञ्ज	ञ्झ
ṭṇ	ṭ'hṇ	ḍṇ	ḍ'hṇ	ṇṭ	ṇṭ'h	ṇḍ	ṇḍ'h
ट्ण	ठ्ण	ड्ण	ढ्ण	ण्ट	ण्ठ	ण्ड	ण्ढ
tn	t'hn	dn	dhn	nt	nt'h	nd	nd'h
त्न	थ्न	द्न	ध्न	न्त	न्थ	न्द	न्ध
pm	phm	bm	bhm	mp	mp'h	mb	mbh
प्म	फ्म	ब्म	भ्म	म्प	म्फ	म्ब	म्भ

cc	cc'h	gg	gg'h	yy	yr	yl	yv
क्क	क्ख	ग्ग	ग्घ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
chch	chch'h	jj	jjh		ry	ly	by
च्च	च्छ	ज्ज	ज्झ		र्य	ल्य	[illegible]
ṭṭ	ṭṭ'h	ḍḍ	ḍḍ'h	śch	ṣṭ	st	hy
ट्ट	ट्ठ	ड्ड	ड्ढ	श्च	ष्ट	स्त	ह्य
tt	tt'h	dd	ddh	pś	tś	tś	zh
त्त	त्थ	द्द	द्ध	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
pp	pp'h	bb	bb'h	hl	hv	tr	dm
प्प	प्फ	ब्ब	ब्भ	ह्ल	ह्व	त्र	द्म

VI. A page from Colebrooke's Grammar of Sanskrit

Dr. Gilchrist's *System of expressing the Persi-Arabic and Nagree characters by Roman letters, is given here, as a Key to the orthography of Asiatic words which occur in the following Work.*

u u a a a a i i i ee ee oo oo oo oo

[illegible]

[illegible]

ri ree li lee e ue ue o uo uo n

[illegible]

[illegible]

h k q k,h kh g gh g,h n ch chh j z z

[illegible]

[illegible]

z z,zh,jh n t th d r dh rh n t t th

[illegible]

[illegible]

d dh n p ph f b bh m y r l w,v,w,oo

[illegible]

[illegible]

sh sh s s s h h chh,ksh,kh gn n

[illegible]

[illegible]

VII Gilchrist's System of Transliteration

খাতক মাহাজনি ।—

আজি আমি বড় দায়েতে পড়িয়াছি । তুমি যদি দশ টাকা কর্জ্জ দিয়া রক্ষা কর তবে সে রক্ষা পাই । তা নহে গরু বাছুর মাগ ছেলে সকল রাজায় বেচে নেয় ।—

তোমার কয় হাল আছে আর জোত কয় বিঘা তোমার মালগুজারি কত লাগে । তাহা না বুঝিয়া টাকা কি মতে দিব ।

মহাশয় আমার পঁচিশ বিঘা জমি তাহার খাজানা মোক্তা পনেরো টাকা লাগে । তাহার মধ্যে পাঁচ টাকা দিয়াছি এখন বাকি দশ টাকা আছে । অতএব আপনি আমাকে ধানের উপর টাকা দিওন আমি মাঘ মাসে সুদি আড়ি আনা হিসাব ও যে ভাও ধান বিকায় তাহা হইতে দুই কাঠা কি টাকায় ধরতা দিব । আপনার টাকার ধান আগে খামারে মাপিয়া দিয়া যাহা পাই তাহা লইয়া যাব ।

VIII. A page from Carey's *Dialogues* printed at the Serampore Mission Press in 1801

ঈশ্বরের সমস্ত বাক্য

বিশেষত

যাহা মনুষ্যের ত্রাণ ও কার্য্যশোধিবার্থে প্রকাশ করিয়াছেন।

তাহাই

ধর্ম্ম পুস্তক

[illegible]

তাহার অন্ত ভাগ

তাহা আমারদের প্রভু ও ত্রাণকর্ত্তা যিশু খ্রীষ্টের

মঙ্গল সমাচার

গ্রীক ভাষা হইতে তর্জ্জমা হইল

[illegible]

IX. The Title page of the Bengali Bible
Dharma Pustak, printed in 1803.

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